

# **The Metamorphosis of Performance: Oral Heritage and Medial Transformation in Kanywood Video Films**

## **Dissertation**

Zur Erhangung des akademischen Grades

Doctor philosophiae

Eingereicht

an der Kultur-, Sozial-und Bildungswissenschaftlichen Fakultät  
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 26. April 2019

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## **Acknowledgements**

First, I must acknowledge my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Susanne Gehrmann whose academic support has encouraged and motivated me. She read my work, gave me purposeful comments and criticisms. She is a model of benevolence.

Many thanks go to Dr. Joseph McIntyre. I benefited from his knowledge of Hausa and his popularity in Kano, Nigeria. He introduced me to Professor Abdalla Uba Adamu and Ado Ahmed Gidan Dabino from whom I got practical guidance.

Prof. Dr. Abdalla Uba Adamu, the Vice Chancellor of National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN) is my second supervisor and deserves a special space in this work. Prof. Adamu received me at Kano, Nigeria wholeheartedly and then introduced me to Ahmad Salihu Alkanawy, Director and Member, Kano State Censorship Board with whom I worked throughout my fieldwork in Nigeria. In spite of his schedules, Prof. Adamu took the time to read parts of the draft of this work and offered me useful comments and criticisms.

Professor Aderemi Raji-Oyelade, University of Ibadan, Nigeria and Professor Sule Emmanuel Egya, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Lapai, Nigeria deserve acknowledgments. Professor Egya's interest in my academic pursuit and progress propelled, instigated and inspired me.

I also wish to extend my profound gratitude and thanks to Professor Andrew Haruna, the Vice Chancellor, Federal University, Gashua, Nigeria along with his wife, Dr. (Mrs.) Elizabeth Andrew, Department of Physical and Health Education, University of Jos, Nigeria. I did not only gain from Professor Haruna's encouragement, but I also benefited from his intensive, persistent and professional assistance over the years. I appreciate the kind of reception he offered me whenever I approached him for academic mentoring.

I would like to show my sincere thanks to Dr. Pepetual Mforbe Chiangong, who has constantly and willingly afforded me her time not only to read the drafts of this work, but also to make some comments. The same goes to Dr. Annekie Joubert, who encouraged me persistently through her question: When is the book going to be ready?

Similarly, I remain grateful to Dr. Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger for taking her time to walk into Room 401 to give me meaningful comments. Furthermore, I appreciate the encouragement from Dr. Lutz Diegner, Dr. Umma Aliyu Musa, Dr. Ari Awagana and Mohammed Muhsin Ibrahim. To Obala Musumba, I say thank you for reading part of the draft of this work.

I must acknowledge Ahmad Salihu Alkanawy. I thank him for introducing me to all the filmmakers, actors and actresses whom I have interviewed in Kano and Kaduna. He has been a resourceful person, helpful and considerable on the issues surrounding Kanywood industry. I am grateful.

I also want to thank a host of academic professors who offered me time, advice and encouragement: Professor Dr. Tom Güldemann, Department of Linguistics, School of African Studies, Humboldt University Berlin; Professor Herbert Igbonuasi, Department of Languages and Linguistics, University of Ibadan, Nigeria; Professor (Mrs) Asabe Kabir Usman, Department of Modern European Languages and Linguistics; Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria; and Professor James Tar Tsaaio, Department of Mass Media and Writing, Pan-Atlantic University, Lagos, Nigeria. Others are scholars in the Department of Languages and Linguistics, University of Maiduguri such as, Professor Munkaila Muhammad, Professor Ahmad Tela Baba, Professor Bassey Anthia, Professor Mohammed Aminu Muazu, Professor Balarabe Zulyadaini, Professor (Mrs) Aishatu Iya Ahmed, and Dr. Baba Mai Bello. Specifically spectacular was my abundant gain from Professor Antia's encouragement. He persistently asked me the stage of my research whenever he came to Berlin. I am grateful.

I am grateful to Humboldt University Berlin for giving me the chance to enroll for a PhD program. Humboldt University sponsored my trips to Nigeria for field research, without which this work wouldn't have been accomplished. I am most grateful to Astrid Kiesewetter, Josephine Karge (the secretaries) and all the staff of the Department of African Studies, Humboldt University Berlin who are sources of challenge to me. The same goes to all the Hausa students as well as the entire members of the Colloquium on African Literature and Culture, whose comments have been the source of my confidence.

To Roman Büttner alias Malam Rabi'u, my German friend in Berlin, I am



grateful for being accessible in both time of recreation and academics. Thank you so much to Harkanas Haruna, Sheikh Ubale Abdu and their families. I am grateful for the telephone calls that enhanced my great enthusiasm. Thank you to Joab Saje Kumo and his wife, Portia Joab, I am extremely grateful for being by me always. You have proved that a friend indeed is a friend in need.

I would like to mention members of my family to whom I owe a debt of appreciation. My wife Saratu Yusuf has been very supportive towards my academic career. She waited for quite a long time without me around her. She has been patient even at the time she needed me most. She has shown a unique woman's devotion to the progress of her family. She deserves a very special thank you. To Grace Yusuf Baba, Gloria Yusuf Baba, Gladys Yusuf Baba and Gift Yusuf Baba – my children - I say thank you for enduring daddy's absence for a long time. To Dinatu Yusuf, I also say thank you. In addition, I appreciate the brotherly and sisterly love from Adamu Baba Gar, Aminu Musa Filiya, Martha Aminu Musa, Ali Bello, Hannatu Ali Bello, John Shehu Gar, Lydia Shehu Gar and Rabi'u Jumba.

Finally, I admit that time and space will not permit me to mention all the stakeholders of this research. I do not only appreciate their contributions to this dissertation, but I also consider its completion as our collective success. However, I must state it categorically clear that it is only I, Yusuf Baba Gar, who is responsible for any short-coming that might be observed in the dissertation.

Yusuf Baba Gar

Berlin, April 26, 2019.

## **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **1. 1. The Concept Kanywood and Labeling in Nigeria**

This dissertation looks into video films made in Northern Nigeria, which deal with oral subject matters such as folktale in particular and reenactments of performance such as *tashe* or *bori*. It analyzes six video films with inserted traditional cultural theater performances that are targeted at keeping alive a fading tradition of theater performance in the face of globalization of African orality and the disappearance of traditional African theater. The films analyzed, all in the Hausa language, are *Ruwan Bagaja* (1998), *Borin Ibro* (2008), *Tashe* (2010), *Sangaya* (2000), *Karen Bana* (2013) and *Fulani* (2012). This analysis is based on shift and transformation as suitable terms to describe the state of the performances in the video films, especially now that technology is at its peak. With the introduction of electronics, people go for modern means of entertainment and the subsequent impact is that the oral performance of cultural art starts to change. Some Kanywood filmmakers are conscious of the fact that video films have become the impetus of not only entertainment, but also dissemination of information. Therefore, they transport traditional forms of performance into their video films. Their efforts might not necessarily be intended to bring the performances back to the village squares for people to practice them. Rather, transporting the performances into video films will enable people to be aware of their existence and social functions. It will also afford people the opportunity to know that this is their tradition and their culture. Kanywood filmmakers commit themselves to various types of video films. The inclusion of Hausa folktales and other performances such as *tashe*, *bori* and *dambe* in video films is due to their cultural acceptance based on the social and moral values they manifest. Being customarily and traditionally motivated, the filmmakers resort to those performances as symbols and resources of tradition, thus bringing viewers back to their heritage of oral literature.

However, considering the interviews which I conducted with directors during my field studies in Kano, most of them show that the manner in which the performances are transported into selected video films is by no means a process of just

preserving the performances. While the filmmakers may think of preservation, this research considers the use of performance in video films as a development reflective of not only a transition but also the flexibility of culture to viewers, both at home and in the diaspora. However, in doing so, they also confirm that the immediate oral performance is not the only style to bring verbal art across anymore as observed by Furniss (1996:11): “Long gone are the days when the only way of seeing and hearing a verbal art performance was by being physically present as the story was told, the song was sung, or the play enacted”.

This claim implies that the space and the medial support for orality are shifting. It purports that nowadays, live storytelling to children at home and live performances in village squares or market arenas are seldom seen. Alternatively, one discovers that some of these performances are shifted to screens of television for viewing at home. Filmmakers consider how the attention of children and the general public is moving towards motion pictures in addition to the availability of modern equipment. Therefore, they resort to folktales and other oral performances as source of storylines in order to influence people’s attention to their old narratives. If this realization is formative, then it will help in questioning the notion which suggests that Kanywood filmmakers tend to skip Hausa culture in their quest for filmmaking. As a first reference for example, Umar Faruk Asarani a viewer in Adamu (2007:64) crusades against cultural imperialism as he reacts to Kanywood video films in a letter to the Editor of *Fim* magazine. With regards to the intrusion of foreign values into Hausa culture through Kanywood video films Asarani thus writes,

I want to advice Nigerian Hausa film producers that using European music in Hausa film is contrary to portrayal of Hausa culture in films (videos). I am appealing to them (producers) to change their style. It is annoying to see a Hausa film with a European music soundtrack. Don’t the Hausa have their own (music)? [...] The Hausa has more musical instruments than any group in this country, so why can’t films be produced using Hausa traditional music?

Secondly, many people voiced concerns about the role of song and dance scenes (usually between an actor and actress in a garden) which dominate the plotlines of Kanywood video films. There is the fear that these video films are instructing viewers

particularly the youths in the ways of romance instead of guiding them towards the themes of the storylines. A tension between the filmmakers and the Censorship Board in Kano emerges based on the repeated insertion of song and dance in Kanywood films. The Censorship Board opposes the insertion strongly, as the insertion enhances the interaction between boys and girls. *Fim Magazine* shows the drastic action taken by the Censorship as the September 2001 edition p. 59 reports that,

An hana rawa da waka a finafinan Hausa

A cikin wata sanarwar bazata, gwamnatin jihar Kano ta soke rawa da kuma wake-wake a cikin finafinan Hausa waɗanda ake shiryawa a cikin jihar.

Song and dance is banned in Hausa video films

In an unexpected announcement, the Kano State government have banned song and dance in Hausa video films which are produced in the state.

In the same *Fim Magazine* above, a viewer known as Muhammadu welcomes the decision on the ban and says “*ya yi daidai*” (it is correct) three times because for him, song and dance in the film is not useful.

More often than not, critics are more conscious of the influx of new traditions, but are seldom aware of how traditions fade away, whenever cultural changes are encountered. The affected societies usually forget that they are themselves the custodians of their culture and tradition. In addition, any culture that does not allow change suggests a societal stagnation. Modern societies allow themselves to lose hold and see their culture transformed. Rather than sticking to traditional and conservative ways, people should do everything humanly possible to embrace change with enthusiasm. Some Kanywood filmmakers work in that line. They remain culturally alert to consider the aesthetics of performances at the verge of extinction. Evidently, when filmmakers make use of material culture and oral practices in video films, it is like bringing performance back as a different practice, through a different media and people will be aware of this.

In Nigeria, the culture of labeling is a common phenomenon. In the field of written literature, the pamphlets-like prose fiction in Onitsha (South of Nigeria) and Kano (North of Nigeria) are labeled Onitsha Market Literature and *Adabin Kasuwar*

*Kano*<sup>1</sup> (Kano Market Literature). Both the Onitsha Market Literature and the Kano Market Literature have received a mixture of reactions from the public, particularly the academics. These pamphlets are not only considered substandard, but they are also characterized with cases of violation of standard orthography and indecent expressions (Malumfashi, 2013:18). Abdalla Uba Adamu compiled the criticisms of the Kano Market Literature and titled it *Annotated Bibliography of Criticisms Against Hausa Prose Fiction* and posted it on Saturday, March 17, 2007.

While American films are linked with the label Hollywood, Indian films go by the label Bollywood. In Nigeria, films in English which are produced in Nigeria by Nigerians are dubbed Nollywood. What happens to their counterpart, the Hausa home videos that are produced in the north? Kano, the city which is regarded as the center of production of Hausa films comes to mind hence the label, Kanywood. The dissertation maintains the label “Kanywood” as the label coined for the industry. However, “Kannywood” with the consonant cluster, as in Hollywood, Bollywood and Nollywood is a variant label, which some scholars have adopted. Therefore, Kanywood video films can be broadly conceptualized as video films in Hausa produced in Nigeria, however, with close reference to northern Nigeria where Hausa is spoken. Although Nollywood happens to be a more noticeable Nigerian video film industry in the academic field and international circles, scholars such as Carmen MacCain and Abdalla Uba Adamu are of the opinion that the label “Kanywood” is a bit older than “Nollywood”. They agree that in 1999 Sanusi Shehu Daneji labeled the Hausa video film industry “Kanywood” in *Tauraruwa* (star), a film magazine in Hausa, three years before the name “Nollywood” was allotted to the Nigerian film industry in English by the New York Time in an article dated September 16, 2001 (MacCain, 2012:37; Adamu, 2013:16).

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<sup>1</sup> A term coined by Ibrahim Malumfashi to refer to a genre of Hausa novels (new prose fiction) which emerged in the early 1980s, precisely 1983 and 1984. The preeminent subject in the novels is *soyayya* (love, romance) thus, the novels are labeled *soyayya* novels. Mostly youths of below the ages of 25 were the principal participants in the processes of both writing and reading the novels. The youths were able to partake in the emergence of this genre due to the acquisition of writing and reading skills they have benefited from the Universal Primary Education scheme, which was launched in 1976 as a rapid campaign in a massive scale that witnessed the dawn of an educational revolution in northern Nigeria.

## 1.2. Transformation of Hausa Conventional Performances

Change in culture and literature in general is becoming a necessary conversion due to social assimilation. It is leading a decisive step towards a shift to modernity. On the one hand shift results to distortions of traditional values, on the other hand adherence to traditional values is a setback to modernity. In any case, human beings are bound to exist at the same time or in the same place, taking advantage of fantasy and reality, not complacent or unconcerned about serious situations dealing with contemporary ideas. The aftermath of such coexistence, consciously or unconsciously involves existing beliefs being fused slowly with modernity through cultural appropriation, and more often than not, the loss or distortion of some traditional cultural elements ensues. In line with this, it is not unlikely to find an array of juxtapositions of conventional and modern cultures. This development enables societies to reconstitute themselves on different bases, bringing new identities and innovations to the forefront, maintaining cohesion as well. The new ideas that are established can become a basis for mobilization and transformation of the societies.

For instance, the culture of storytelling involving typical patterns of Hausa life is a changing space. It is hardly done anymore, except for some sketches among rural dwellers. However, it worth the challenge getting back to such norms or to indulge in the conventional genres of the tale that is oral fiction, which has been used as a means of moral lessons. If filmmakers use these sources in a mimetic way along with proper language style and costume, viewers have the chance to see them on screen. However, such performances are now gradually influenced by other cultural productions, in particular those to which Adamu (2007:16) refers as *istanci* (derived from Rupert East, the father of modern Hausa prose fiction), a reference to the type of influence from Asian cultures which are located east of Africa. Adamu's concept includes both Islamic eastern and other eastern such as Indian non Islamic cultural influences, particularly the Bollywood films. The benefit of using performances in video films is that they make cultural transitions evident. As children many of the filmmakers partook in oral performance as audience observers. These performances are thus part of their cultural memory. Today, when viewers see performances in video films, the performances can be considered as old wine in a new bottle. Film producers and

directors use their time to produce fiction video films related to tradition and custom.

Although video films contain some cultural changes, by implication, they serve as memory of cultural performances. It is a big challenge to filmmakers because no matter the level of interest a filmmaker has in cultural films, this study considers that what viewers may see in the video films in this era of globalization will contain elements of cultural transformations and shifts. To justify this proposition, some video films are selected for analysis. The corpus of video films includes examples for different types of performances and different ways to integrate them in a film plotline. The selection along with the analysis is to unfold some of the sources of Kanywood video films and highlight some of the changes of performances that are encountered as they move from the oral public space to the medial space of video film.

### **1. 3. Outline of the Dissertation**

The dissertation is structured into eight chapters. Chapter one, the introduction, shows that in Nigeria it is a common phenomenon to give items classifying phrases in addition to their original names. In view of this practice, chapter one further explains that the Hausa video films are dubbed Kanywood, a label which was derived from the city of Kano in northern Nigeria in recognition of Kano's widespread reputation as the centre of the Hausa films' production. Since transformation is the focal element of the dissertation, chapter one, therefore draws attention to orality and the nature of Hausa cultural transformations, especially when orality is shifted to the filmic medium.

In Chapter two I review literature on Kanywood video films. The review foregrounds that the greater number of the literature at my disposal considered Kanywood not only an insignificant film genre, but also an imitation. The review further shows that while many authors relate Kanywood to Bollywood as the sources of the films' storylines some few contributors have connected and identified Kanywood to Nollywood. The review reveals that on the one hand, I succumb to the conception of imitation, which is deep-rooted and ingrained in Kanywood video films. On the other hand, I do not only show that imitation is an established characteristic of literature related work, but I also highlight that some Kanywood video films are based on Hausa oral tradition which, until now, many critics of Kanywood video films did

not only fail to notice, but it is also an area which has been overlooked by previous researchers.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical framework adopted for the dissertation. Since I chose performance as the theoretical framework, chapter three deals with the main subject matters such as aspects of performance: communicative aspect of performance, cultural aspect of performance, temporal aspect of performance; and performance as reflexive instrument of cultural expression and storytelling in the chain of video narratives. The chapter explains how performance expounds the expressive forms of a culture and offers a productive frame of reference and viewpoint about societies. The chapter further discusses how performance, to a certain extent, is an inclusive sphere of activity and how each node of the performance's branches interact with the others to foreground experience and mode of behavior deeply entrenched in social and ethical structures, especially the way people think about and organize their lives.

In chapter four on research methodology, that is, research problem, research question and the data collation procedures among others, are discussed. The crucial segment of the chapter discusses the constitution of a corpus and a subsequent film analysis of the corpus, revealing that six video films are selected for analysis in this research. The benchmark for the selection of the corpus, as the chapter points out, is the source of the video films' storylines. Since performance theory is adopted as the framework of this research, as I mentioned earlier, the six selected video films are mainly based on orality such as folktales and reenactments of performances. The chapter further explains that the analysis dwells on areas such as the *mise-en-scène*, camerawork, sound and image of the selected films.

Chapter five investigates the forms of the Hausa oral performances. In order to get a clear understanding of the nature of these oral performances, the chapter starts with a perusal of the historical background of the Hausa people, disclosing the different schools of thought about their origin. The chapter then discusses these oral performances in terms of their roles such as use for religious purposes and



entertainment purposes; and for whom they are enacted, such as the aristocrats and the commoners, and how they are embedded into the video film medium.

Chapter six provides an examination of theatre performance in northern Nigeria, beginning with an explanation about the degree of theatre's distinctiveness before articulating its concept in Hausa. It also examines both theatre troupes and drama groups and the process of their conversion to film production. The chapter also looks at the transition of drama texts to film medium. The chapter espouses that the different configurations of drama in Hausa such as drama groups, text drama and school stage drama have served as means of mobilization into readiness for an operational and realizable film industry.

Chapter seven is the data presentation and analysis. Therefore, analysis of a corpus of six selected video films is undertaken. It explores the distinct base, on which each selected video film is produced, namely, folktale and reenactment of performance event. The chapter reveals the radical transformations of the Hausa culture through the above mentioned performances. This is due to the transportation of the performances from the arena to the film medium. As the film medium is not only a conspicuous, but also a notable and visible device, the chapter shows that the changes, which are manifested in the performances involved propinquity to technology and mobility on one hand and development and spread on the other hand, as the audience has the wherewithal to watch the hybrid Hausa culture and performances through the video films from both far and near. The chapter concludes that the selected video films, which have been analyzed have only used and appropriated oral performances, and the analysis has detected and discovered the improvements in cultural values and the aesthetics of the improvements to suggest that culture is not fixed.

Chapter eight is the general conclusion. It offers a brief recapitulation of the content of each chapter. It also assesses the technical aspect of Kannywood video films, calls for improvements and then proposes the area on which further research could be undertaken.

The dissertation has two appendices, I and II. Appendix I lists the participants whom I have interviewed and those with whom I have had purposeful discussions during field research. Appendix II provides the questions which were administered to

the participants during interviews. The questions were used to interrogate and cross-examine the participants.

## **Chapter Two: State of the Art and Challenges in Kanywood Research**

In the previous chapter, the general idea of the label Kanywood, modification of Hausa customary performances and the synopsis of the chapters of the dissertation were discussed. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the recent development of the Hausa video film industry in northern Nigeria by focusing on debates on culture and representation which characterize public discourse on the films in predominantly Muslim northern Nigeria. The Hausa video film industry, as opposed to the general Nigerian Nollywood film industry, attracted less attention from film researchers, perhaps due to its linguistic specificity that locates it within a particular social culture. I also assess academic works which give liberal evaluations of the films, and then I argue that the critics' appraisals of Kanywood video films might not necessarily be unquestionable if the critics would look at the films over a greater expanse of time and space.

### **2. 1. On the Sources of Kanywood Video Films**

While a major part of the literature claims that the imitation of foreign cultures by Kanywood filmmakers results in cultural imperialism and undermines religious motifs via insidious means; other critics dwell on the evolutionary background of the films, highlighting issues of secrets and revelations surrounding the Kanywood industry. At a more literary level, language strategies as employed by the filmmakers in respect to social behavior as a way of defining cultural identity of the society has been the interest of some researchers. I will outline the state of the art in Kanywood research, while having in mind that the current study discusses Kanywood video films with emphasis on video films whose sources are conventional Hausa performances.

The literature claims that Kanywood's dependency on foreign media results into cultural imperialism. Adamu (2007) examines the impact of global trends and flows of popular culture on Muslim Hausaland from 1935 to 2005 in prose fiction, oral performing arts and video film. Adamu stresses that the process of globalization results in the emergence of the Hausa video film in 1990. According to Adamu, the video films are almost exclusively based on Hindi films. He states categorically that Hausa video films evolved around three main characteristics, "all borrowed heavily and inspired by Hindi cinema" Adamu (2007:47). He argues that Hausa films maintain

Hindi film's style of plotlines and other basic characteristics such as love triangle, forced married, long song and dance scenes that aim mainly at the sexuality of the actresses. Although, in Adamu's opinion, these acts can be considered as means of modernizing Hausa culture, he nonetheless reiterates that they were not left unchecked, as they were counteracted by reactions from the religious fundamentalists and traditionalists. Adamu cites examples of points of clashes between transnational film techniques employed by Kanywood filmmakers and the fundamentalists/traditionalists. He further mentions scenes reserved for adult viewers like in *Alhaki Kwikwiyo* (2011) (Sin is a Puppy), *Saliha* (1999) (The Pious Woman) and *Malam Karkata* (1999) (The Fraudulent Cleric), stating that such films have received critical reactions from viewers as a result of their sexual connotations. In Adamu's opinion video films of this type and others that manifest "immoral acts", such as portraying Muslim-Hausa speaking actresses in skimpy dresses is viewed as intentionally chosen to seduce young male viewers. Such scenes have again provoked criticisms from viewers or those who uphold conservative traditional views when it comes to questions of morality. While this research upholds Adamu's opinion that Kanywood can be considered as a means of modernizing Hausa culture, it goes further to see the video films as popular culture that help in revitalizing the popular nature of Hausa culture.

In his article entitled "Hausa Drama and the Rise of Video Culture in Nigeria" which has been published in *Nigerian Video Films* (2000) and is edited by Jonathan Haynes, Brian Larkin discusses the influence of foreign media on Kanywood. Larkin's contribution offers an account of the rise of Hausa video within the wider sociology of what he describes as a "cassette or video culture" (2000:210). Larkin explains how in the last two decades the emergence of video technology has transformed the Nigerian middle class and improved the availability of a massive range of the world's media products to those who can afford them (2000:209). According to him, transnational circulation of Indian films has offered Hausa videos an imaginative space where they might consider alternatives to both Western modernity and Hausa tradition. Video culture in the contemporary public sphere, as Larkin maintains, can be categorized into three discrete historical periods: the colonial era, the time of early independence up till the oil boom, and the post-oil boom era (2000:213). Since foreign films were

commonly viewed at cinemas in major towns in northern Nigeria, Larkin argues that this phenomenon has given rise to a film culture in northern Nigeria. He states that in Kano alone, Indian films were shown five nights a week at the cinemas and one night each for Hollywood and Chinese films. This manifested into cultural borrowing just as Indian filmmakers also borrow from Hollywood as Larkin (2000:233) states:

The same is true of African popular culture, which has long been involved in acts of creative creolization where cultural influences from the West, the Islamic world, and Asia have been incorporated into African expressive traditions and their representational power subordinated to an African aesthetic.

He contends further that the most popular program on television was the Sunday morning Indian film on City Television (CTV), Kano; and most video shops reserved the bulk of their space for Indian films. According to Larkin, the availability and easier access to Indian films make them so popular among Hausa viewers. One striking outcome of the influence of Indian cinema on the Hausa social life is through the medium of Hausa *Rubutattun Littattafan Soyayya* (Written Love Stories), which were later coined as *Adabin Kasuwar Kano* (Kano Market Literature). Linking Kanywood video films to love stories, Larkin asserts that Hausa viewers managed to engage with texts that show a culture that was “just like” Hausa culture while at the same time it was also different. It is no surprise that when the difference collapsed through the rise of *littattafan soyayya* (love story books) Indian films became controversial in a way they never were before. However, Adamu (2007:89, 2010:70) recount how “some viewers of Kanywood video films have come to realize that it is the producers and the directors that are responsible for the corruption of culture and religion in Kanywood video films”. By inference, in addition to authors of these love books, the producers and directors of Kanywood video films too spread the modern love of Indian films to Hausa youths. The Indian films they watch are secondary because due to the film language Hindi, viewers usually do not understand what those films are about in detail, until the authors of *Littattafan Soyayya*, the producers and directors of Kanywood video films transport the contents into Hausa. This research takes into cognizance that globalization enhances the circulation of popular culture. Therefore, it is normal for cultures to be influenced by other cultures. This kind of cultural assimilation enables

African culture to be flexible. The flexibility shows that culture is dynamic hence the human society has always been characterized by continuity and change. Sharing Larkin's argument, (Abdalla Uba Adamu, Ado Ahmad 2011) in their study, *From Oral Literature to Video: The Case of Hausa* edited by McIntyre, Joseph and Reh, Mechthild, focus on recent changes in Hausa cultural genres. The changes, according to the authors are caused by socio-political and technological development. The development gives rise to the emergence of the new genre of written love stories. Subsequently, written love stories metamorphosed into Hausa video films. The reason for this development, as the researchers claim, is due to the shift from publishing books to producing video films by some authors. The shift, the authors argue, has contributed towards the increasing effect of love stories on Hausa culture at a time of increasing Islamization. This development provokes clashes between innovators and traditionalists.

Larkin (2002) discusses the impact of Indian films on Hausa popular culture. He states how Indian films and the films' actors and music have been a dominant marker in popular culture in northern Nigeria. According to him, the desire for Indian films accounts for the adornment of the walls of tailor's shop and the windscreens of commercial buses with posters of Indian films stars. This development, Larkin argues, allows Indian films to have access into the dialogue construction of Hausa popular culture by giving Hausa men and women an alternative world similar to their own. However, Larkin wonders what pleasures do Hausa viewers derive from watching films that portray a different culture and religion from theirs, especially as the dialogues are in a language they might not be able to decode. My research serves as useful reminder that social systems are dynamic and are often influenced by other cultures especially when it comes to cultural productions and the media of expression. More so, one of the functions of film is entertainment and as film comprises both language and action, viewers are likely to understand the film from the actions involved without necessarily understanding the language. In addition, the constant repetitive cast of characters whose roles are restricted within the borders of behaviors of the father, the mother and the wicked antagonist provides an easy understanding and makes translation of video film possible despite cultural and linguistic differences.

Another example which proves this is the popularity of Nollywood, Nigerian films in English among viewers in Francophone African countries.

Adamu (2010) elaborates on the conflict between filmmakers and Islamic religious sects, and the step taken by the Censorship Board to regulate the emerging threat and raising chaotic settings and their effects on culture and the society at large. Adamu (2010:63) explains that, “Hausa films as new medium, are a source of conflict in northern Nigeria, due to the films’ representation of the Hausa Muslim woman’s private space”. Adamu maintains that in pre-colonial Hausa culture, folktale which was part of Hausa popular culture mainly focused on aspects of Hausa life that have to do with upholding moral standards. Sexuality, according to Adamu, was a taboo subject in pre-colonial Hausa popular cultural productions (2000:64). Shifting from folktale to visual media, Adamu indicates that television drama reinforced the traditional arrangement of the Hausa spatial structure because no bedroom scenes were foregrounded. Further, he argues that the problem came with the transition from television drama to video films that were influenced by Hindi and American cinematic styles in which the Muslim Hausa female sacred space was exposed. According to Adamu, the films revolve around family crisis and how to overcome them rather than relying on local folktales. Thus, the development in Hindi cinema in the 1990s has influenced Hausa filmmakers after 2000 in ways that the latter adopted patterns similar to Indian song, dance and choreography in their films, a further move revealed the exposure of female private space. As a result of this, Hausa video filmmakers were accused of contemptuously disregarding the Hausa culture. According to Adamu, this infringement of traditional norms of privacy in Hausa video films has made a dual impact. First, it attracts criticisms and secondly, it uncovers the tension between globalization and Hausa Muslim culture (2010:72). The present research agrees to the assertion that some Kanywood video films imitate Indian films as Adamu identifies. However, my research observes that the critics of Kanywood video films have undermined the role of globalization, making their criticisms to assume that Hausa culture is static and resistant to change. Abdalla Uba Adamu in yet another work provides relevant information on Kanywood to this research. In his analysis, Adamu (2006) highlights the impact of popular culture from the Far East on the transformation

of the identity of creative and performing arts among the Hausa. While Larken talks of *littattafan soyayya* (love story books), Adamu points at yet another literary influence of Abubakar Imam's *Magana Jari Ce* (Speech is Wealth), often considered the foremost Hausa literary classic. According to Adamu, *Magana Jari Ce*, published in 1937, introduced the phenomenon of artistic adaptation and adoption of creative works from cultures which seem to share the same cultural space like them (Hausa). In Adamu's opinion, *Magana Jari Ce*, based on extensive re-telling and restructuring of folktales from various European, Middle Eastern and Far Eastern cultures, laid the foundation of adopting elements of cultural identities of other societies in Hausa popular culture aimed at local consumption. This movement was later reintroduced in Kanywood video films. Adamu notices the major role played by media technologies and not only the messages in the process of appropriation. His analysis offers a worthy example of how the electronic media and communication sector ranging from telecommunication networks and the internet, through to radio, television and film, are the most active in the current drive for the globalization of products.

## **2. 2. On the Question of Cultural Imperialism**

Focusing on filmic discourse, Isa Yusuf Chamo (2012) examines ways of interactions in Hausa film discourse, which according to him are seemingly contrary to the traditional norms of communication. Although his research is rooted in language studies, his views offer relevant information on the changes Hausa society undergoes in the area of social and cultural relations as reflected in Kanywood video films. Chamo assesses the films' discourse by examining the actors' and actresses' attitudes towards communicative performances such as contextually marked forms and language skills (related to the use of figurative expressions), attitude towards language and language varieties (code-switching and youth register) and attitude towards language choice and language use (forms of address and presence of new topics in public discourse). Chamo's main research question is: "to which extent is the language of the film changing and which group of the society is influenced with the new culture phenomenon?" (2012:27). In an attempt to arrive at a response to this question, Chamo examines the films' dialogues between boyfriend and girlfriend. Bearing in mind that



in the traditional set up, boyfriend and girlfriend cannot converse while standing within public gaze, Chamo sees this traditional rule "totally broken" (2012:79) in Hausa films, where girls express their emotions directly to their boyfriends and show their love towards them. Therefore, according to Chamo, the discourses in Hausa video films are different from the traditional Hausa norms of communication and opposed to Hausa cultural values, signaling clearly that both Hausa language and culture are undergoing transformations in the contemporary world. Even though Chamo shows how the status quo of traditional rule is totally broken due to influence of new cultural phenomena, his work fails to consider other foreign influences on Hausa language when words and phrases from English, Arabic and some local languages in Nigeria appear in the video films' discourses. More often than not, there are scenes in some video films that show actors such as Dan Gwari, Baban Chinedo and Dan Yarbawa who imitate Gwari, Ibo and Yoruba (arrangement is based on alphabetical order). In as much as this phenomenon has not considered Hausa as a language that is lacking its own vocabulary, the present research considers that language possesses the ability to absorb other languages, hence it is flexible. The linguistic flexibility therefore extends to cultural flexibility because language and culture are closely interwoven. In Larkin's observation, the wearing of Western-style clothes, the use of English by members of the upper-class or by government officials and growing materialism, which results in endemic corruption in the post-colonial state are some of the familiar situation viewers are taking part in (2002:22). In a similar vein, Ahmad observes the interfaces between traditional and modern life styles in Hausa society. According to him, any visitor to Kano or any city in northern Nigeria is bound to be amazed by an array of juxtapositions of traditional with modern cultures (2005:219) Based on this, the present research lays emphasis on Hausa culture's flexibility and refutes that it is broken.

Contrary to Chamo's language studies approach, McCain (2014) is more concerned with political issues: the conflict between conservative critics, and the bureaucrats over Hausa films. The critics' views, in McCain's opinion, are based on cultural pollution in northern Nigeria and how conflict has affected the Kanywood industry, resulting in the industry becoming almost extinct. McCain (2014:2) states

that, “Hausa artists are not really exposed on the national or the global stage thus paucity of knowledge on and about Hausa popular culture transpires”. Although she acknowledges the multiple forms of transnational media flows into northern Nigeria, which according to her generate controversies about the films produced by Kanywood, she claims that exposure is a major problem.

One of such controversies which McCain speaks about is the exposure of the moral corruption within the Kanywood industry, particularly the sexual corruption of women by men or in some cases by each other. She explains that exposure of Kanywood actresses in relation to her work can be seen as a form of revelation, unmasking hidden spaces and the dirty underside of a “showy exterior” (2014:5). McCain contends that the idea of exposure was put into circulation by the Kano State Censorship Board and by other conservative critics to refer to the unmasking of the secret sins of corrupt members of Kanywood industry, fears about the over-exposure of young women in the industry and, finally, negative influences in which Kanywood video films were exposing to vulnerable viewers.

McCain finds out that exposure as it relates to Kanywood, therefore, is an idea that is used by all actors in the controversy. While filmmakers often claim they are exposing the corruption of the elites, censorship officials maintain that Kanywood films expose the immorality of the artists, whereas cultural elites use it to express their concern that Nigeria is being embarrassed on the global stage by making substandard productions. I find that McCain’s (2014) study covers many important aspects. In dealing with the controversy surrounding Kanywood industry, the work exposes the three principal stakeholders.

### **2. 3. Towards a Liberal Approach to Kanywood Video Films**

Nafisatu Adamu Muhammad (2002) examines women in Hausa video films. Her MA thesis entitled *Mata a Cikin Finafinan Hausa 1995-2002* (Women in Hausa Video Films 1995-2002) is based on the assumption of viewers and the general public that Hausa video film’s actresses are those girls and women who are living a loose lifestyle. Muhammad agrees that there is interaction between actors and actresses in Hausa video films and it is this interaction that makes viewers think that the actresses

do act in the same way beyond video film's interaction whenever they are outside video film's space. According to Mohammed, critics of Kanywood fail to acknowledge the video films as means of awareness and economic empowerment, neither do they consider why viewers embraced the films within a short period of time. She examines the roles women take in the films and finds out that, more often than not, they take the role of mothers. This role, according to Mohammed is very (necessary) important for filmic plotlines in general. On the other hand, they take the role of grandmothers or mother-in-laws who usually interfere in their sons' matrimonial issues to the detriment of their daughters-in-law, in order to send a strong message to those women who engage in such acts. Mohammed argues that the films can be considered as a means of correction. In an investigation, seventy percent of people prefer watching the films than listening to sermons because according to them, the films can be considered as sermon (2002:142).

In the same fashion as Muhammad (2002), Adamu Aliyu Umar's (2002) differs from most works that center on criticisms. In his BA thesis *Gudummawar Fina-finan Zamani a 'Bangaren Adabin Hausa* (The Contributions of Contemporary Video Films on Hausa Literature), Umar moves away from the issue of imitation to discuss Hausa video films' contributions to the development of Hausa literature. According to him, most critics of Kanywood video films misunderstand filmmaking. This shortcoming, Umar argues, makes the critics to think that there is nothing good in all Hausa films except cultural pollution. Umar believes that no script writer can pick up his pen and develop storylines with the intention of polluting his culture. According to him, if viewers can make a critical analysis of Hausa video films, they will understand that there are meaningful lessons in the video films, which are aimed towards reforming Hausa society. More so, the video films contain Hausa genres such as proverbs, epithets and songs which are vital components of Hausa literature, Umar reiterates.

Idoko, E. F. and Munkaila, M. M. (2004) in their "Hausa Video Films and the Globalization Process" discuss three Hausa video films, namely *Tsumagiya* (1999), *A'isha* (2000) and *Jumurda* (2001). The discussion is based within the background of the current globalization process. The work identifies the place of the three video films in their local context, and seeks to negotiate their place and relevance within the global

space, thereby highlighting some of their important features. The authors go on to include an excursion into the history of the evolution of Hausa video films in Nigeria and then discuss the social and cultural necessities of the video films within the indigenous system and the global situation. They acknowledge the existence of theatre traditions among the Hausa and maintain that the video films could be said to be an extension of these dramatic activities in a different context, celebrating the socio-cultural relationships of the Hausa (2004:56). In their analysis of the three films the authors discuss the dominant structure of moral content that is inherent in Hausa video film. For example, the serious question about the morality of telling lies, intricacies of relationships and marriage, and the morality of good family relationship. Like most researchers, Idoko and Munkaila recognize the influence of Indian, Chinese and Western film traditions in Hausa video films by saying that:

It is understandable that the Hausa video films develop and produce specific cultural meanings through the medium and effect from Western/Eastern tool, and an attempt to have relevance in the world [...] it does not exclude its undercurrents of a negotiated place in the globalization trends, neither does it imply seeing or accepting the Western/Eastern frame of mind as synonymous with accepting or qualification to be termed as having a global acceptability, rather it sees culture as a discursive agent (2004:62).

The arguments of Muhammed (2002), Umar (2002), Idoko and Munkaila (2004) can be used in this research to uphold the claim that there are Kanywood video films particularly video films that comply with Sharia, which conform to the local cultural values.

The proceedings of the first international conference on Hausa films, organized by the Center for Hausa Cultural Studies, Kano and hosted by Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, from 4th – 7th August, 2003 were published in 2004 as *Hausa Video Films: Technology, Economy and Society*, edited by Adamu A. U., Adamu Y. M. and Jibril U. F. Out of concern for a meaningful future of the Kanywood industry, Adamu acknowledges the lack of critical study of the relationship between media technologies and transformations in Hausa popular culture, especially at a time of increasing importance of media technology on popular culture; and how Hausa urban youths are

redefining the pattern of entertainment in Hausa communities. While there are no significant local inputs that show the relationship between Hausa culture and popular culture as a vehicle of cultural preservation and transmission, Adamu notes that the most significant advances in this area were carried out by foreign researchers, the outcome of which Adamu says, "is considered an authoritative account of the acculturation of the Indian culture on Hausa home video industry" (2004:3).

Matthias Krings contribution entitled "From Possession Rituals to Video Dramas: Some Observations of Dramatis Personae in Hausa Performing Arts", points out an outstanding comparison which touches both similarities and differences between *wasan bori* (spirit possession play) and video dramas in Hausa. Krings states that both are modes of performing arts in northern Nigeria. He argues that both *wasan bori* and video dramas in Hausa have a common base: the two are connected to theatre. In the comparison, he shows that *wasan bori* and video dramas share two similar fields of social interaction because both *wasan bori* and video dramas are closely akin to theatre by containing a free mixture of both sexes. Krings asserts further that by their relation to theatre both *wasan bori* and video dramas allow their participants to exhibit a relatively partial appropriation of otherness, meaning that the actors and actresses are representing something or someone else, and not themselves while performing on the dance ground or acting on the screen (2004:163). On the differences, Krings posits that there seems to be class difference between the participants of *wasan bori* and video dramas. While *wasan bori* absorbs the illiterates or those with only a few years of primary education, video dramas, especially the actors and viewers are linked or associated with the literates. This study finds Krings article interesting because it uncovers the ignorance of some critics of Kanywood video films who argue against actors and actresses coming together. Unless the critics are hypocrites and have prejudice, they should not have been subjective in their approaches to Kanywood. They ought to have known *bori*, which Krings refers as a social interaction in Hausa culture that is characterized by a free mixture of males and females. By implication, this interaction is now extended to Kanywood industry.

Hadiza Alfa Mohammed's contribution in the collection centers on women's public gaze and acting, particularly in northern Nigeria. In her article entitled "Women

on Screen: The Burning Issues", Mohammed gives a definition of women on screen as "performing women", such as actresses, musicians, newscasters, ect. (2004:194). However, she focuses on actresses in Nigeria Hausa home videos. Mohammed's attention is drawn by the criticisms and debate in northern Nigeria on Muslim Hausa women and acting in Kanywood video films. In her defense of acting women, Mohammed ascribes to the importance of casting actresses in video film and argues that women are more suitable in certain roles, and when they pick up such roles, viewers enjoy watching video films. For this reason, Mohammed maintains that the need for actresses came up since the emergence of Hausa home videos. In line with the notion "actress stands for prostitute" (2004:196) among some viewers in Hausa society, Mohammed conducted interviews and the result of her findings is that eighty percent of men in the film industry can marry an actress if she fulfills certain moral and social conditions such as being respectful, educated, decent, and of good family background. These conditions are generally demanded from none actresses as well. Outside the industry, eighty percent of men said they cannot marry an actress on any condition and twenty percent agree to marry an actress if she will quit acting. Mohammed argues that the industry is full of decent actresses. Therefore, she recommends that viewers should see acting as a play, out of the playwright's imagination whose sole aim is to send a message across. Therefore, the concept that actresses are prostitutes should be discouraged. She encourages the public to regard an actress as any normal woman whose behavior on the screen was only for a reason and it is temporal. This dissertation finds Mohammed's work very objective, as it has neither grudge nor prejudice. Based on my interviews for this dissertation, the actresses confess that they seek the approval of their parents before engaging as actress. Can parents allow their daughters to participate in filmmaking if it were for prostitutes and notorious girls?

Balarabe Maikaba's contribution examines the influence of foreign cinema on contemporary Hausa home video drama. In his article entitled "Cinematic Conventions and the Influence of Western (Hollywood) and Indian (Bollywood) Cinema on Contemporary Hausa Home Video Drama" Maikaba discusses the reasons for the adoption of Indian cultures in the production of Hausa home video drama. He states

that the Hausa people of northern Nigeria have been used to Indian movies for over half a century. In order to bring these viewers close to them, Maikaba insists that Kanywood filmmakers need to create something close to the aesthetics of Indian films viewers were used to. Another basis for the adoption of foreign culture in Hausa home video drama, according to Maikaba, was the absence of indigenous entertainment media for Hausa youths. On the same vein, the influence of foreign cinema on Hausa home video and culture could be viewed from the doses of American / British films shown on local television stations in northern Nigeria for years. He argues that popular American / British films have been on our screens for over two decades. (2004:104). Maikaba recommends the inception of a new acceptable format for Hausa home video drama which may be reflective of Hausa culture and traditions. In Maikaba's opinion, this is the only way the Hausa could feel proud of their culture and promote its export to the outside world. However, to recommend an acceptable format for Hausa video films which can reflect on Hausa culture and tradition indicates that little does Maikaba know about those storylines in Kanywood video films which are based on oral tales. Indeed, my research highlights how orality is used by filmmakers as source of video films. This technique which the filmmakers have adopted is to incorporate modern technology in order to give the best possible expression of an indigenous genre. Basically, the knowledge of culture and technology by the filmmakers helps to actualize this strategy. By this research therefore, we can see how much film adapts to the multimedia and performance qualities of oral tradition and how much technical refinement gives it full expression.

While Maikaba is worried at the level of influence of foreign cultures on Kanywood video films, Gausu Ahmed's concern is focused on the reactions of Kano Ulama (Muslim Clerics) to Kanywood video films. In his contribution entitled "The Response of the Kano Ulama to the Phenomenon of the Hausa Home Video-Some Preliminary Objectives" Ahmed considers and discusses specifically, what the Muslim clerics object in the films, the basis for the objection and what they think should be done by producers to meet the basic religious requirements in their productions. In tackling this task, Ahmed discusses the position of drama, music and dance (three genres in Hausa video) in both Islam and Hausa conventional society. He posits that

the concept of drama is an established concept in Islam, and it includes actual mimicking of certain acts in order to demonstrate or emphasize a point (2004:146). Similarly, in Hausa conventional society, according to Ahmed, drama is also a well-known phenomenon even before the advent of colonialism, and with modifications, some of these dramatic acts have continued to date. He refers to genres which are generally referred to as *Wasannin Gargajiya* (Traditional Performances). To Ahmed, the concept of drama and performances in Hausa society are well-established to warrant further justification. Besides that, he argues that some of these drama forms are recognized and accepted in Islam. Therefore, he maintains that drama as an element of Hausa film should not, generally speaking, attract any controversy. Even though Ahmed (2004) supports his arguments more on religious bases, this dissertation finds his work useful. As he ignores the dynamic cultural aspect and the role of globalization, the present research seeks to elaborate on these aspects.

Contrary to Ahmed above, Mohammed Abdullahi takes the moralist's approach to question the principles or standards of good behavior in Hausa films and the system of censoring the video films. In his article entitled "Analyzing the Moral Question in Hausa Films and the Censorship of the Hausa Home Video" Abdullahi identifies the types of acts in Hausa films that violate Islamic moral codes, which warrant criticisms from Muslim scholars and moralists. Some of the behaviors which he identifies as wrong because they disagree with what is generally accepted, especially with regard to religion and genuine Hausa culture in the video films, are singing and dancing by actor and actress, rampant cultural borrowing, advocating and encouraging idolatry in disguise and promoting breach of trust. Abdullahi investigates the causes of these social irregularities found in Kanywood video films and finds out that the first reason can be attributed to lack of professionalism in filmmaking by both the producers, actors and actresses. This shortcoming, according to Abdullahi predominate the filmmakers and influences particularly the producers thereby revolving the main theme of almost all the video films. Similarly, Abdullahi observes that there is the urge for wealth and quick fame by the filmmakers. As a result of this, most of the filmmakers in the industry copy foreign cultures (American, Chinese and Indian). The present work does not aim at disputing Abdullahi's claim. Rather, it seeks to investigate if



there are Kanywood video films that conform to and comply with cultural values. However, the question is: are there changes in the cultural values and what are the changes? This is a departure from Abdullahi's work, which makes blatant generalizations and disregards of the variety and complexity of Kanywood video films.

D.A. Maiwada examines the underlying trends in the development of Hausa video films. He discovers that in the video films there are emphases on violence, which according to him are clear examples of imitations of foreign films. To him, if violence should persist in Kanywood video films, definitely the films will bear negative consequences on the behavior of youths. In his article entitled "Imitation of Violence in Hausa Video Films and Consequences on Youth Behavior", Maiwada shows that Hausa video films imitate storylines of Hausa novels that themselves imitate Indian films which depict love, marriage and marital problems. According to Maiwada, these are contrary to the Hausa classical novels, which portray themes with focus on norms and values of Hausa-Islamic society. He insists that themes in classical Hausa novels ought to have continuity in Hausa video films. On the contrary, the pattern has shifted to the imitation of violence as portrayed in Indian or English films especially in the video films *Sharadi* (2002), *Isaah* (ND) and *Ukuba* (2001). Maiwada asserts that these video films will have a negative effect on the behavior of children and youths engaged in viewing as evident in numerous studies conducted to demonstrate the impact of screen violence on children and youths (2004:273). Maiwada reemphasizes that children or even adolescents who are exposed to violent television shows over a period of time can demonstrate changes in their behavior. Based on this, he recommends the need to draw the attention of producers to turn to the rich contents in Hausa folklore and early Hausa novels for inspiration for their films. It seems that Maiwada is expecting Kanywood to be like an isolated entity which is supposed to operate in a self-contained manner. On the contrary, this research considers that in the space of work of art, many utterances and actions are taken from other works. When they are taken, they intersect and neutralize one another in form of cross-cultural influences.

Zulkifl A.G. Dakata, like other contributors to the publication, focuses on the penetration of certain foreign cultures into Hausa videos. In his paper entitled

"Alienation of culture: a Menace Posed by the Hausa Home Video" Dakata discusses foreign influences on Hausa videos. According to him, the alien cultures are appearing to be genuine, whereas they are not. Dakata argues that the effect of embracing such foreign cultures by Kannywood filmmakers is resulting into worsening the alteration and alienation of the Hausa-Fulani culture (2004:250). Dakata observes that the influx of Indian films in Hausa society from the 80s to 90s has the highest influence on Hausa home video. He laments that instead of using "our culture to promote and sustain our indigenous development, we take to copying, and imitating Indians" (2004:251). He claims that gender relations among the youths in Hausa home videos appear very alien. According to him, no right-thinking Hausa-Fulani parents would allow their daughter to go to parks or bushes to dance and sing with a boy. He cites the example of *Harsashi* (2003), a video that presents what he considers as "fashion defile" (2004:251) instead of "beauty contest" as indicated in the video film. To Dakata, the appearance of ten maidens in wedding gowns enticing a young man for friendship in the video is not only foreign, but seems to be just not feasible in Hausa society. He calls on the Hausa-Fulani, as Africans, to know what is good for them rather than adopting all foreign cultures wholeheartedly. To the artists in the film industry he says they must take it upon themselves or regard it as a point of duty to lead incoming artists in making efforts to correct these anomalies. While Dakata sees only the negative aspect of imitation, he fails to realize that imitation can be used in making reference to a pre-existent reality only. Therefore, my research considers it as a highlighting in which, by inclusion in video films, the actors and actresses do not always mean what we are doing is what should be done. They may be engaged in a process of expressing either belonging to or separation from the culture in question. Generally, another fact about imitation is that it has to do with materials known to the imitators because it is logical that one cannot imitate something he or she does not know about. In this sense, the actors and actresses in Kannywood video films have already known that song and dance exist in the culture, and their appearance in video films should not be a course of concern.

Aminu Fagge Mohammed takes a feminist direction. He laments at the way Hausa women remain reprimanded and oppressed. In his contribution entitled

"Women, Religion and Guilt in Hausa Home Video: An Assessment" Mohammed relates to the above lamentation by investigating and analyzing the representation of Hausa women in Hausa home videos. He focuses on the types of roles women play and the religious symbols being affected in the representations of women. Mohammed agrees that women have been given central roles in Hausa home videos. However, he argues that, the roles they play represent a persistent view of women as having less importance than men. According to him, the video films represent them as unstable, destructive and absurd or without reasoning and understanding. More often than not, they are portrayed as the one responsible for broken homes. They can conspire among themselves or with men to execute deadly plots, and at the end they are made to pay the price of their negative acts by becoming dangerous lunatics, divorced and losing their lovers or their lives (2004:180). The portrayal of women as less important human beings or as subordinates in Hausa home video is seen in *Sukuni* (ND), a film in which a father keeps on persisting that his daughter should come up with a man whom she wants to marry, because as a daughter she has to produce a husband at a given time, if not she should be prepared and willing to accept any man chosen by her father. On the representation of women as destructive and evil in the video films, Mohammed cites *Furuci* (2001) as an example in which the character Hajiya single-handedly destroys two families including her own. Having discussed the stereotypes of women as represented in Hausa home videos, Mohammed recommends the need for further research into the roles of women in various spheres of Hausa society such as cultural, economic, political and religious that will reflect progressive and community attitudes. My research strives to contribute to this necessity.

## **2. 4. The Further Side of Kanywood Video Films**

From most of the groundbreaking literature on Kanywood reviewed so far, emphasis deals largely with influence of Indian films and transnational media flows. The latter paradigm, the "transnational media flows" on the one hand, designates the growth of technology which facilitated digital and digitalization a day-to-day expression and altered the media environment in seemingly rudimentary ways. On the other hand, the new global space of flows enabled by the force of the media safeguards the interaction between technology and culture often referred to as technoculture.

More commonly, the internet serves as a driving force and enhances trans-border flows. Evidently, production, circulation and consumption of various cultures are absolutely more feasible now.

Regarding the former paradigm, specifically, the literature shows how Bollywood films have had influence on Hausa viewers and how the films became the back bone of Kanywood video films, thereby enhancing ‘cultural imperialism’. This thesis does not consider imitation as a matter of copying the preexistence material, but competing with it. Kanywood video films in this case compete with Indian films and most northern Nigerian viewers of Indian films come to embrace Kanywood video films for two main reasons. First, the actors and actresses are known to the viewers. Second, the storylines in Kanywood video films are in Hausa. It seems viewers have come to terms with Larkin’s question: What pleasures do Hausa viewers derive from watching Indian films especially as the dialogues are in Hindi, a language they are not able to decode (2002:21)? In a more concise view, this research considers Kanywood video films as a concerted effort of filmmakers who produce video films out of their personal experience, and those who try to improve society for the better. By doing so, the video films will help in demonstrating the common humanity in all cultures. As some stakeholders in the industry argue, the video films deal with the realities of day to day life and even their own experiences. In particular, Musa Abdullahi Sufi, an actor in an interview with me at Bagauda Hotel, Kano on 7th September, 2011 says, “I believe every simple thing you see in Hausa movie is the reflection of what happens in the society.” The research articles are less concerned with who the viewers of Kanywood video films actually are, what they watch on screen and what they are really understanding from the films’ narratives. The study discovers that Kanywood video films have various sources of storylines which are indigenous. These sources originate from Hausa reality and have an outstanding significance in Hausa culture. Such videos with indigenous background are on display side by side with those video films whose sources are from imported cinema. The exposure of this development might result into Kanywood video films receiving more acceptability for their ability to contain dual sources, both local and foreign, thus depicting cultural hybridity at the time of globalization.

Evidently, the groups of films commonly used among filmmakers in Kanywood industry are known as Camama (video films with local influences and have rural spaces as settings) and Sentimental (video films with foreign influences, film shootings are in cities, and the films are depicting expensive cars and beautiful mansions). This development brings to the limelight some Kanywood video films that are solely build on conventional performances. Therefore, my research sees Kanywood video films as popular culture that helps in reviving the popular nature of Hausa culture. In addition, selection and analysis of video films which include oral tradition shall be a major topic of discussion in this research. This is an area that has been overlooked by previous research on Kanywood video films.

The critics of Kanywood video films seem to claim that they are ardent supporters and promoters of Hausa culture which, according to them, Kanywood filmmakers fail to be. Today, the cinematic arts in Africa go beyond the issue of cultural imperialism. The presence of technology serves as a means of cultural outreach, irrespective of which culture. Little do the critics know that some storylines in Kanywood video films are based on orality. My research highlights how orality is used by filmmakers as source of video film. This technique adopted by filmmakers is to incorporate modern technology in order to give the best possible expression of an African genre. The strategy comes basically from a cross-fertilization of oral knowledge, popular culture and technology. Therefore, in Kanywood, we see how much film can adapt to the multimedia and performance qualities of oral tradition and how much technical refinement can give it full expression. I conclude the review with the following quotations:

Nothing is said now that has not been said before.

Would I had phrases that are not known, utterances that are not strange, in new language that has not been used, free from repetition, not an utterance which has grown stale, which men of old have spoken (Marko Juvan, 2008:13-14)

These two quotations suggest that every work of art is a mention about another thing which has already at one time been mentioned, or its rejection. Specifically, this is the central idea that is contained in imitation. It denotes connection and mutual dependence of two component conditions.

The ideas in the above quotations are within the broader concept of intertextuality. The term intertextuality, according to Juvan (2008:11), was invented, defined and launched in semiotic theory and literary studies by Julia Kristeva between 1966 and 1974. The inherent idea about intertextuality centers on not only the text as limitless, having no boundaries, but also on the fact that other texts and discourses intrude amid the printed lines. The idea suggests that nothing exists outside the text. However, the emergence of electronic media has entirely and thoroughly changed the nature of texts. Therefore, this dissertation does not only find today's digital era broadening the initial scope of intertextuality, but it also transforms and encompasses other genres which dwell on everyday experience. Therefore, the key motivating factor is the notion among critics of Kanywood that the video films are an imitation of Indian films, mainly the inclusion of a boy and a girl singing to each other and dancing in the plotlines of Kanywood video films, thus establishing the occurrence or phenomenon of varied sex among youths in Hausa society. Evidently, the massive audience reaction was that video films with mixed sex body contacts were considered very much like Hindu films and too adult, as such they were unhesitatingly rejected.

### **Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework**

In the previous chapter the review of available literature on Kanywood was discussed. The review shows that Kanywood video films have been perceived by most authors, first, as imitation of foreign films and, secondly, as medium for cultural imperialism. However, my dissertation points out a broader view of Kanywood video films and additional central points of the films as well. In this chapter I describe performance as the theoretical framework picked to take up in chapter seven, the analysis of some selected Kanywood video films which are based on oral performances.

#### **3. 1. Aspects of Performance**

Several scholars of performance studies such as Richard Bauman and Victor Turner have described performance as a dual transmitter of artistic action and the artistic event which is the performance situation. Both terms are central to the development of performance. In his performance theory, Richard Schechner (1988) illuminates the world as a performance space on and off stage. Hence in his twenty-five years of practical work and theorizing performance, he organizes performance around a system that can be outlined as a fan in which each blade interacts with the others therefore he considers performance as an inclusive term (xvii). On the other hand, Richard Bauman, according to Joubert (2004:64), considers performance as a mode of communication, a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skill. Evidently, performance has at its core not only restoration, but it also portrays peoples shared humanity. However, each performance suggests the uniqueness of the culture from which it originates in the sense that there is a dynamic process linking performance behavior with social structure and the way people think about things and organize their lives. Therefore, performance is situated and its form, meaning and functions are rooted in culturally defined scenes or events. But this does not mean it is fixed. As Victor Turner explains, cultural performances do not only cast light on the ways in which cultural themes and values are communicated, but also show the

process of social and cultural change (1987:25). In accordance with Turner's assertion, the study considers performances not just as expressions of a given culture, but also as a reflection of cultural change. Evidently, to assume that performance is static is a way of undermining what it involves. According to Joubert (2004:65), "the artistic event: the performance situation involves the person or persons undertaking a performance, the event, the persons watching the event and the space where the event is taking place". In this sense, a measure of what is perceived as performance is whether or not the four elements mentioned above are involved. In the context of this research, the space can be anywhere, usually a village or town square, or any other open space, including public roads and family compounds. A performance happens whenever the performer encounters the spectator, and the two automatically interact, and continuously evaluate the event including the enveloping space of their meeting throughout the duration of the performance. Their roles, as performer or spectator, go through a process of negotiations in the process of performance.

### **3. 1. 1. Communicative Aspect of Performance**

Performance is considered as a unique means of communication. It communicates issues relating to culture and the general social system. Turner is of the view that performance does not only communicate positively, but it often sends messages of criticism, direct or indirect, of the social life it grows out of (1987:22). Here, performance serves as an evaluation of the way issues are handled in different societies. The performance of *Wasan Gauta* in Hausa society is a justification of this claim. *Wasan Gauta* is performed in the palace. It is a performance by women with the consent and patronage of the chief and officials of the palace. It conveys the lapses created by the personal weaknesses of the chief and the courtiers. Therefore, it is a way of making the chief and his courtiers aware of their distinctive shortcomings. The mode of communication in performance is made possible due to the stylistic and aesthetic qualities of what is said and done during performance and not necessarily in terms of the context of what is said. In most cases, during performances, focus is shifted away from the context to the skills of the performer and his/her ability to perform. Bauman (1986:3) states clearly how performance as a mode of



communication, is also a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skill, highlighting the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content. For instance, in *Wasan Gauta* for instance, the participants try to imitate as truly as possible, the chief or the courtier through the employment of elements such as dialogues and gestures to the audience. Based on this, communicative events could be considered as one of the concepts constituting performance. In an aesthetic sense, it may designate the actual conduct of communication, framed in a special way and put on display for an audience. Therefore, the analysis of performance highlights the social, cultural and aesthetic dimensions of the communicative process. However, in terms of conceiving and defining the mode of communication, the formal manipulation of linguistic features should be considered secondary because language in circumstance of performance is uttered in a special way. More often than not, it is understandable if it is not taken seriously because its meanings do not always depend upon its normal use. From this point of view, the suggestion might be that performance represents a transformation of the basic referential elements that require the use of language. It might be right to say that in performance there is something going on in the communicative interchange which conveys to the audience how to interpret what the performers say in some special sense. In the context of this dissertation, for instance, the composition and transmission of verbal utterances in *Fulani* (2012), which is discussed in chapter seven serves to communicate the transformation in Hausa oral performance to the viewers.

### **3. 1. 2. The Emergent Quality of Performance**

The concept of emergence, according to Bauman (1977:37), is mandatory to performance as a path towards understanding the peculiarity of each performance. The idea of emergence suggests that within a given community performance is viewed as a general cultural system, which involves members of the community. However, no two performances are exactly similar hence all performances differ and therefore performances are always unique (Joubert, 2004:70; Bauman, 1992:42). Based on this reason, one should be able to appreciate the individuality of each performance.

Bauman goes on to explain how within the emergent quality of performance lies an inter-play between the various systems enclosed or embedded in performance and what the participants hope to achieve. This suggests that there are certain goals which are aimed at achieving from both the performer and the audience. On the part of the performer, his hope is aimed at having the attention, concentration or stability of the audience, and on the part of the audience, their mission is to see the exhibition of competence which includes artistic and narrative skills. In this respect, the performer is also involved in dealing with other elements such as time in order to maintain the attention of the audience. In this case, performers require the necessary fluency in the prescribed form of expressions and should learn to join their acts towards the development of the themes on which their performance is built. Therefore, in realization of a performance, participants will make use of all the available materials in the communication system, which make a performance conventional and unique at the same time. Thus, part of the essence of performance is to offer to the participants a special enhancement of experience, the opportunity of bringing together both the performer and the audience and then offer them the chance to interact with each other (see Bauman, 1977:5; Schechner, 1988:112-113). Through performance the performer elicits the participative attention and energy of his/her audience to the extent that they value his/her performance and will allow themselves to be caught up in its euphoria. This suggests that there is power inherent in performance and the capacity for change or transformation of social structures which may be highlighted and made manifest to the community. The performance of *Wasan Gauta* for the aristocrats in Hausa society is an example, as its aim is not only to entertain, but also to demand behavioral change from the chief and his courtiers. Based on this, there is the tendency for performances to be admired and feared. On one hand, the performers of *Wasan Gauta* can be admired for their artistic skill and power and for the ability to manifest experiences in a more valuable or attractive way. On the other hand, as Bauman (1977:45) suggests, “they possess the potential of bringing about the subversion and transformation of the status quo”.

### 3. 1. 3. Interpretive Frame of Reference

The information communicated in performance cannot be understood wholly by literal means, but also through the knowledge, experiences, or beliefs that someone uses to understand performance. Therefore, a demand is required from the audience to make unique interpretations further than the literal words or images involved. Based on this, Bauman (1977:10) suggests the use of interpretive language, or what he calls frame, by which the messages are being communicated and understood. The frame has to be different from at least one other frame, which is the literal. Additional frames suggested by Bauman are insinuation, imitation and quotation. While insinuation deals with the way in which the words that are spoken are to be interpreted as having a covert and indirect relation to the meaning of the utterance, imitation deals with the way in which the method of speaking is to be interpreted as being modeled after that of another person or persons such as forms of imitation of various characters among the courtiers who are represented by the performers in *wasan gauta*. And quotation suggests that the ways in which the words are spoken are to be interpreted as the words of someone other than the speaker. In the same vein, Joubert (2004:74) states that performance represents a transformation of the primary referential use of language. Therefore, performance brings into existence a defined interpretive context or frame by which the themes being conveyed can be comprehended, hence there is the requirement for the interpretation of what is said and done in some unique way, and should not be taken to mean what the words convey literally. The term frame thus refers to a defined interpretive context or sign, according to Joubert (2004:74). The sign gives the receiver (audience) instructions or aids in his or her attempt to comprehend the information embedded in the frame. Thus, it is directed at the audience in terms of what they have to convert into ordinary language and then interpret the communicative message of the performance. Therefore, if there abound different performances, each one should have its own defined interpretative frame accordingly. Based on this, there is the need for the performer and the audience to understand the performance together. It is by undertaking this mutual agreement that performance qualifies as a wholly experienced event. In such an event, different types

of things take place, like body language, gesture, mimicry, dance, and utterances, particularly those that consist of idiomatic expressions, as Joubert (2004: 75) claims. These expressions no longer simply refer to the literal meanings of the everyday language outside the performance, but are rather charged with associative values particular to the event. Evidently, they should be looked into according to the norms and values specifically spectacular to the performance taking place. A spectator or a viewer then has to make sure he/she understands the contextual frame of the performance both as a participant and a spectator, simply because performance can be seen beyond the creative use of language to include the provision of interpretive frames in which case images of how trends of communication are taking place in a given society. The audience can understand the messages described in a given frame context by the usual cultural techniques or keys or devices. Therefore, the performance frame plays a vital role as it guides the audience to understand the messages in the frame. As Joubert (2004:76) states, “some of such guides are special codes, figurative language and appeal to tradition”.

### **3. 2. Cultural Aspect of Performance**

#### **3. 2. 1. Performance Event**

The idea of the performance event can be enclosed in all the variables associated with it such as the setting, the presence and types of people taking part, cultural themes, and special patterns of interaction. This concept is buttressed by Kofoworola and Lateef when they discuss a ritual performance like *bori*. A detailed description of *bori* is undertaken subsequently. According to them, “such ritual performance is carried out by the believers [...] and it is believed that such performance must take place in special location which is considered as the abode of the spirits or super-natural forces so as to ensure their effective response or intervention” (1987:5). The variables form the rules that govern the conduct of performance. In the words of Schechner (1988: 13), special rules in performance exist, are formulated, and persist because this activity is something apart from everyday life. The term event is used to signify a culturally defined, bounded segment of the flow of behavior and experience which contributes to the content of the action. By inference,

an event is not a performance until the regular way of mutual interaction and interdependence between the ground rules are undertaken. Normally, performance events do take place in a time out of time. This means that they are placed outside the usual working time, usually fixed in a period of time when the community is taking a time out from the normal daily activities of life such as the farming season. It is on the condition that the time has to be specially set aside and agreed by all parties involved to signify that the events have a notion of agreed temporal duration (Bauman, 1992:46). Thus, there are formal openings and closing to signal the start and end of the performance for that particular season. There are also mechanisms in place which frame the spatial compass, as well as the temporal duration of these events. Such events are used to mark special occasions or significant moments in individuals' lives or in the life of the community. Those engaged in them are very much aware of themselves as being on show, as being in the public gaze. Therefore, behaviors for the duration are designed and executed with this awareness in mind. More often than not, the outcome of such behaviors tend to be exaggerated, stylized, presentational or representational, and consciously done for spectacle, not necessarily done for any immediate material reward for the participants. They may, however, be done with a hope for possible future benefits for those involved in the performance or for those for whom they have been organized, and for the good of the community as a whole.

### **3. 2. 2. Cultural Specificity**

The idea behind cultural specificity is associated with the peculiar way in which each community organizes its performances. While some communities conceptualize their traditional performance events on genres, others use linguistic concepts and then base their performances in relation to speech acts. As Joubert (2004:72) observes, the method of keying - the instructions for beginning and finishing performance - differ from community to community. For instance, if the genre of folktale in Hausa is considered, it shall be discovered that there are basically three necessary communicative keys for opening and closing a folktale, namely:

- *Ga ta nan ga ta nanku* usually said by the storyteller when he/she opens the story, which means here's a tale for you.

- *Ta zo mu ji ta* is usually chorused by the audience to signal acceptance and readiness to listen to the story, which means tell us the story, we are listening.
- *Kurungus kan Kutu* said by the storyteller at the end of the story is to signal that the story has come to a logical conclusion. As Sa'idu Baßura Ahmad (1997) explains, the function of the key (in his case formula) is to move away from reality and then distinguish between fantasy and reality. While the function of the opening formula is to capture the attention of the audience and prepares them for a collective journey to the world of imagination, the closing formula is to announce the return to the world of reality (Ahmed 1997:18-19). For the purpose of comprehending the concept of cultural specificity in performance and how it works, there is the need to align with the notion of the traditional. This idea becomes a central distinguishing characteristic to consider in order to determine the representation of performance elements in another medium. A focus on the traditional aspect of these oral structures might point out that traditional activity indicates extra time more than is usual, or it might refer to a reality bigger even than the entire individual performance or group of performances. Schechner (1988:131-132) argues that it becomes obvious that there is a relationship between the performers and the audience where the audience-performer opposition is dissolved. This development suggests that both the performer and the audience will depend on the extra-performance contexts of tradition in the interpretation and understanding of the web of oral intercommunication in which each mode interacts with the other (2003:xvii). In addition, in this case of the traditionally derived performances, the audience will base on their working knowledge of traditional inferences from the information they already have.

### **3. 3. Performance as Reflexive Instruments of Cultural Expression**

In many cases, performances deal with a reflection on someone's character, ability and work. It is within this view that performance could be regarded as a "signification about signification" in the words of Bauman (1992:47). It includes, as a necessary part, self-awareness and skillful control of the publicly recognized features of the communicative system. Such systems include physical movement in dance,

language and tone in song, thus making someone at least aware of the systems devices. Understandably, performance may be seen as broadly meta-cultural, a means of objectifying and scrutinizing culture itself. This development suggests that people can think of their culture as contained or presented in their discrete performance. In this context, Bauman (1992) sees performance as a sign of a particular situation whereby the action involved in it affects the person or thing that does the action, rather than treat performances as mirror images of cultural reality. Evidently, the quality of performance does not only mirror a situation, but develops something new. However, rather than focusing on values or beliefs alone, performance should also center on images and actions. By doing so, the performance would be more valuable and attractive, and would also enhance people's understandings of the actions, their realities and implications. In addition to reflexivity, the mode of performance consists of the performer, be he/she as the actor on stage, the storyteller by the fireside, the festival dancer in the village arena, who serves as objects for themselves as well as for others. In this sense, performance is not only a powerful, relevant and effective means of taking the role of the other, but also a way of looking back at oneself. Therefore, performance reflexivity is the circumstance in which members of a cultural group, when acting, reflect back upon themselves, upon the actions involving social structures and other cultural components which make up their social, cultural and political environment. Reflexivity would presuppose realism, a reflection of people and things as it is thought in that culture (Turner, 1987:24). Turner concurs with Bauman (1992) on the issue of performance reflexivity. For Turner, cultural performance is not only logical, but it is also reflexive and capable of arousing consciousness of ourselves as we see ourselves (1987:42). However, Turner emphasizes how performance is concerned with the domain of human activity. But for a domain to be truly reflexive, where the same person is both subject and object, Turner maintains that the self is something that someone is both and that one sees and, furthermore, acts upon as though it were different (Turner, 1987:25).

### **3. 4. Temporal Aspect of Performance**

#### **3. 4. 1. Performance as Transformation and Transportation**

The issue of temporal structure in performance (Turner, 1987:26) is concerned with the dynamic or static nature of the performers. Performances are marked by continuous and productive change. They are not only capable of changing or being changed, but they are also characterized by a state of flux and therefore are never static. Performances in which performers are changed are considered as transformations and those in which performers are returned to their pre-performance state as transportation Schechner (1988:191), such as in *bori* performance. *Bori* can be called a transportation ritual because during the performance the performers are put into a trance or hypnotic state but at the end, they re-enter ordinary life and return to where they started from, which is their pre-performance state. The performer is transported through action, costume, dialogue and mood of performance from the ordinary world to the performing world, from one time or space reference to another, from one personality reference to one or more than one references. He or she impersonates a character and the process of impersonation transforms him or her. This allows the performer to adopt the personality of the character being performed and in that process transformation occurs. Therefore, the individual on stage becomes an independent entity from the being before the performance is enacted. At the end of the performance, the performer returns to his original self, marking the process of transportation.

Transformation performances are clearly evidenced in initiation rites, which purpose it is to transform people from one status or social identity to another. An initiation rite does not only mark a change in an individual, it is also itself the means by which persons experience a new self. According to Hausa culture, change is experienced only when an individual goes through an initiation rite. But when the performance is over, for example in *bori* in Hausa culture, the already – initiated *ɗan bori* (*bori* performer) re-enters ordinary life approximately where he left it. If any change in him occurs, it is subtle: the way he achieves more respect, or loses it, though doing what is necessary in his social life. When the performance is over the transported has been returned to his place of entry and the transformed have been changed. The performance witnessed by spectators who are far from being casual seekers of entertainment is the decisive point of contact between the transported and



the transformed. For this distinction to be effective, the transported must be unchanged while the transformer is permanently changed (see Schechner 1988:191-192). The work of the transported is to wear his costume, enter the performance, play his role, usually acting as an agent.

### **3. 4. 2. Restoration of Behavior in Performance**

Restoration of behavior is linked to an act, which can be rearranged or reconstructed. It is used in different types of performances from initiation rites to social dramas. Ultimately restoration is central to performance. In the words of Schechner (1987:7), all performance has at its core a ritual action, a “restoration of behavior”. It is assumed that an act exists separately from the performer who acts during performance. Due to the fact that the behavior of the performer is separate from that of the character that is being impersonated, the behavior of the performer can be stored, transmitted, manipulated and transformed. The performer gets in touch with the efficacy to stage the performance, recovers, remembers, or even invents behaviors and then behaves again according to these behaviors, either by being absorbed into them by playing the appropriate role. Restored behavior can be put on as a mask or costume. Its shape can be seen from the outside, and changed. That is what master performers do: change the performance score. The performance can change because it is not a natural event but, as Turner says, one in the subjunctive mood (1987:25), which contains the dialectical, that is, the idea that an event generates its opposite (1987:41). Secondly, restored behavior is always subject to revision. It is a performer acting as if he is someone else. But this someone else may also be the performer in another state of feeling or being. The performer is seen performing his dream, re-experiencing his childhood trauma, showing the audience what he did yesterday. A restored event is created from a distant place or an actual past, and therein offers to both individuals and groups the chance to become someone else for the time being (as in the *Tashe* performance of *Ka Yi Rawa* (You Have Danced) where the main performer takes not only the role, but also the status of a cleric as well as a godly man. However, the performer shows the hypocritical side of the cleric and then after the performance, he returns to maintain his position as an ordinary citizen). Besides, there is the chance to

become what a performer was as in *bori* that shows belief in spirit and spirit possession.

Many conventional performances have the tendency to refer the audience to the past, as the performer in the present space is performing an event that existed before. The performances then move to a restored event towards the future especially in performances that are kept in the repertory according to a strict adherence to the original score. In this case, *bori* in film serves as an example of an aesthetic performance being a main way of recalling what has been discontinued or an extinct behavior. Therefore, *bori* as a performance event during shooting signals that the performer is someone else while doing *bori*, as in the video film *Borin Ibro* (2008) that connotes that the actor is remembering the past. As the actor does the recalling, by implication he is finding out how the Hausa practiced *bori*. He is making an attempt to restore *bori* as well. In a way, the *bori* story goes on, but in a different medium.

Is there any threat of the extinction of *bori*, which has motivated its transformation into film? Djedje Jacqueline Cogdell (2008) discusses how his 2003 visit to Kano enabled him to observe that *bori* performances have become rare at public events, mostly in urban areas. He compares this scarcity to the proliferation of the practice in the 1960s and 1970s. Nowadays *bori* ceremonies, if performed at all, take place in the villages located on the outskirts of the city. This new development indicates that *bori* performances are not only at the risk of extinction, but it also means that the type of *bori* that is practiced in the villages has probably been affected by changes. However, by its adaptation into film, *bori* performers might be encouraged to work towards its reconstitution.

There are two different forms of performances when it comes to the *bori* performance tradition. There is *bori* which is performed by individuals on a specific time and space, and *bori* performance which has been adapted in film mode. Clearly, the *bori* performance embedded in film is performance about the history and cultural wealth of the past that is being preserved for the future through film. Though based on previous performance which is considered authentic, the performance of *bori* as portrayed in the film version falls short of being considered original. In most cases, where there is an original, and it has been recorded and performed, contextual and

historical changes make even the exact replication of the original event different than the original event (see the changes in detail in the chapter on analysis of selected video films). Technically, *bori* performance in film is a return to its previous state created from a distant place that looks like an actual present, but in practice, it is a version of ancient forms, or neoclassical adaptations that purport to recover old works for modern audiences. It is no surprise that filmmakers never get involved in *bori* performance along with the adherents because it is almost eliminated from the cities. They might have had opportunities to watch it in their teens and now, as adults, they appropriate it. By doing so, sometimes film directors reconstruct the components of the ritual: these changes enter the roles and become part of the event and develop into what can be described as the modernity of performance. This ability to accept change is a characteristic of a living culture. According to Singer in Turner (1987:23), performances become the elementary constituents of culture in a way that cultural performances composed of what he calls cultural media which consists of both spoken language and non-linguistic media, such as dance, which express and communicate the content of culture. In this vein, the media can be considered as the ways in which cultural themes and values are communicated. Not only that the media shed more light on processes of social and cultural changes; in addition, cultural performances are active agencies of change. They represent the eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing board which creative personnel, particularly film directors, use in video films. Looking at performance in Kanywood videos, we may note that some videos are associated with a type of event within which specific scenes indicate or show actors perform particular genres in a characteristic performance mode and this calls for a recapitulation of performance in Hausa society.

### **3. 5. Storytelling in the Chain of Video Narratives**

Kanywood video films develop out of narrative and dramatic traditions in which the art of storytelling is a major concern. To a certain extent, film and folktale are intertwined, although they are treated largely as different modes of storytelling. Through a quick look at the art of storytelling in Hausa which is an old genre, one can recognize that from very early in life, the Hausa, like other human beings generally,

desire to understand the world around them and to make sense of things in their immediate environments. In order to achieve this, storytelling is a major educational device. There is no society or human community without storytelling. Storytelling or oral narrative takes the form of myths, legends, folktales (Ben-Amos,1992:102). Hausa society has *tatsuniya* (folktale), which is mainly a traditional fictional story usually narrated by an old woman or a newly married woman to children. The folktales serve dual purposes: educative and entertainment. For example, the videos are based on folktales as such, have much reliance on plot mechanism. Although the video films have long plotlines and each hero fits the folktale hero's characteristics and the stories are structured with a beginning, middle and twist in the tale end as folkloristic elements, new techniques are embedded in the filmic narratives. While the narrative in storytelling is full of words and digressions, the folktale in video, being a screenplay intended to be watched by viewers, is both narrative and performative along with image, sound, music, a form of enacted storytelling is experienced in one setting. The role of storyteller is taken over by the director and editor. The storytelling now goes through framing, light, sound and movement.

Apart from *tatsuniya* (folktale), enactments in form of storytelling have appeared prominently as a common feature in the performances of artists especially the court singers, folk singers, freelance comedians and the hunter's guild. When storytelling technique is applied to the songs of the folk singers for instance, it provides the performers with a wealth of message being communicated in addition to the highly entertaining quality of the performance. In most cases, the lead singer chants the framework of the stories, and then the stories are enacted in a sing-song style by the choristers, while some artists in the group are required to mime and perform some dance movements to demonstrate certain aspects of the story to the audience. Sometimes the plots of the stories are built around realistic experience. For example, the practical and realistic nature of events that led to the composition of the story in the performance of the hunter's guild is their experience during hunting expeditions. When the expedition is adapted into *Ruwan Bagaja* (1998) part 3, the real hunting event becomes responsible for the effective messages of the actors' performances: demonstrative actions of actual events.

Other earlier performances are what Ziky O. Kofoworola and Yusuf Lateef (1987:73) describe as demonstrative enactments which describe and define Hausa traditional performances such as *dambe* (traditional boxing) and *kokawa* (traditional wrestling). The performer of *dambe* is *dan dambe* (pl. 'yan *dambe*) and the performer of *kokawa* is *dan kokawa* (pl. 'yan *kokawa*). These are some forms of performance displays in Hausa oral tradition in which realistic demonstration of strength and toughness constitute the main feature of the performance. A performer having been enticed by the singing of his *kirari* (epithets) by the singer around may stand up in the centre of the performance space. He stretches out his hands and shouts his praises to signal his readiness to demonstrate bravery. He challenges anyone who dares to face him for a similar display of strength and ability to fight. In like manner, this technique of communicating a specific message in traditional performances to the spectators is a form of showing one's prowess. This technique of displaying one's prowess and fighting skills to the audience is roughly translated in phrases like "here I am", "this is what I can do". In *Tutar So* (The flag of patriotism) (2005), for instance, performers of Kanywood industry feature in a song and dance scene. Each performer calls out his or her name and expresses his or her special attributes and reputations to the camera. It is worthy to note that they are disguised. The actors and actresses employ the technique of the disguise for two major reasons: Firstly, they feel this moment is meant to communicate to the viewers by requiring them to note the importance of what they are saying. Secondly, they want their message to reach out straight to the authorities concerned. Expressing attributes and reputations might mean telling the viewers that "I am decent" and "good conduct" is my name. What they intend to communicate is that, together with the named virtues, they serve as good examples to the public by maintaining these virtues. These pronouncements by the performers debunk the commonly held notion that film actors and actresses show a loose life style and are often wayward. In this case, they draw attention to their roles as ambassadors of good will.

In the case of performance as a way of communication, Aminu Kano understands this power of communication during his days as an activist when he engaged in the quest for independence. In the struggle, the traditional ruling class, the

clerics and the politicians were not spared from his criticisms. Therefore, what can be described as modern use of performances which includes dancing to satirize the pretense and deception of the ruling class at the same time ridiculing a corrupted administration was employed. In the same vein, the use of performance/drama has partly become an important legacy of Kanywood videos as the pioneer production company emerged from a drama group with some of the actors being members of drama groups and defunct states' cultural troupes. The actors who used to act on stage and face the audience are now looking at the camera, often in monologues in some of the videos. This technique is employed in order to communicate directly to the audience. In addition, the song and dance scenes in Kanywood videos are in the direction of communication even though this aspect of Kanywood video films received criticisms from film critics. In my research perspective, I argue that apart from entertaining the audience, song and dance scenes bear some moments meant to communicate to the viewing populace. The gaze of the dancers, performing self-consciously for the audience sends a message of invitation to the audience to join in the song. By doing so, the barrier between the fiction of the videos and the real-life situation of the audience is broken because they extend the story of the videos into everyday life.

### **3. 6. Conclusion**

In exploring performance in Kanywood video films, the focus is on transformation of oral subject matters (folktales in particular) and embedding of reenactments of performance events and not necessarily on the dominance of performance in the video films that serve as corpus for this study. The study does not only argue that some Kanywood video films embedded performance, it also shows that there is continuity of orality in video films in a transformed way. While storytelling in film is orality in its technically reproduced form, the narrative technique applied is an example of restoration of behavior in film, as in *bori* (performance of spirit possession), *tashe* (performance during the Muslim month of Ramadan), *kokawa* (traditional wrestling), *dambe* (traditional boxing) and *sharo* (performance of flogging with a stick). The film becomes the new form of oral narration intended to inform the persons

who experience these performances through this medium. It is likely that most people will experience the performances for the first time in the metamorphosed versions. The capture on film as part of a series of moving image, that is the process of getting the performance on film, is in fact a generating event. It generates events behind it: planning, consultations with specialists and it generates events ahead of it in such a way that the media event that is the actual shooting of the film attracts locals, many of whom come to see the film being made. Furthermore, these performance events are not only being performed, but they are also being transformed. Such performances in videos are not simply a performance, but a translation and transmitting of a former performance. The performance at this time contains two series of events including both the original event and performed event.

## **Chapter Four: Research Methodology**

In chapter three I discussed performance theory. I have considered performance as a broad genre which encompasses aspects of communication, culture, reflexive acts, restoration and transformation of behavior. In this chapter I describe the research problem, research question, aims and expected result of the research and the method of data collation such as research fieldwork: interviews, constitution of a corpus and the subsequent film analysis.

### **4. 1. Research Problem**

In this dissertation, I use a qualitative research methodology to analyze Kanywood video films based on the specificity defining the performances embedded in the films. In order to achieve this objective, I engage people and materials to obtain a detailed understanding of the situation under study such as the dynamics governing the transformation of cultural performances in the video films and the set of circumstances in the Kanywood film industry. In this respect, there is need to provide an approach into the methodology of investigation, such as the general insider's views. A review of Kanywood industry, namely filmmaker's activities within the industry, was done, followed by interviews with the filmmakers whereby they revealed their experiences and hopes. As the quest for more knowledge is regarded as an indispensable quality of research, an appropriate methodology has to be considered in order to tackle the research problem.

Nowadays, the activities of oral performers in northern Nigeria are not only deteriorating, but also changing. The elderly people who still engage in these performances are getting weaker and weaker. Also, drama shows on television and radio stations are not on the program schedules anymore, and the actors of drama groups that were performing on television seem to have metamorphosed into actors in video films. It seems there is a changeover of the batons of drama from popular actors like K'asimu Yero (Furniss, 1996:85), Umaru Danjuma Katsina, the main actor who takes the name Kasagi (Kofoworola and Lateef, 1987:171; Furniss, 1996:85), Usman Baba Fategi and Danwanzam, underlined by Furniss (1996:84), “some of the most famous Hausa actors/comedians” (Furniss, 1996:86). When drama began to disappear



from television in the mid1990s, the art of entertainment has been handed over or shifted to the stars who, featured in Kanywood video films in the late 1990s. When Kanywood industry came to the limelight, producing video films, which served as a transformed and alternative way of entertainment, the industry too faced some challenges in Hausa society. In addition, cultural troupes have collapsed and the artists no longer perform due to the reintroduction of Sharia law in 2000 in some states in northern Nigeria. This research remains skeptical about the claim that Kanywood video films are contaminating Hausa culture. In line with this, the study argues that Kanywood video films also help to provide not only a new, but also a more satisfactory and viable medium for dealing with living conditions in Nigeria, especially among the Hausa people. It affirms the flexibility of Hausa language and culture in the wake of globalization and how the actors and actresses have proven beyond reasonable doubt that they are both custodians and bearers of change. Therefore, the research dwells around the questions listed below and attempts to find answers to them through a variety of methods of data collection and analysis.

#### **4. 2. Research Questions**

- How are performances re-enacted and re-framed during the filmmaking process?
- How are performance scenes embedded in the narrative line of the film? What is their function in the film, beyond entertainment?
- How far are traditionally encoded performance events altered, changed, subverted or enriched in film?

#### **4. 3. Aims of the Study and Expected Result**

Transformation of Hausa oral literature to prose has been taking place for quite a long time. A few published books containing some Hausa folktales are, for instance, *Hausa Sayings and Folk-lore* (1912) by Roland Fletcher, *Specimens of Hausa Literature* (1896) by Robinson, *Tatsuniyoyi Da Wasanni* (1971) by Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya, *An Anthology of Hausa Literature* (1980) by Neil Skinner and *Taskar Tatsuniyoyi: Littafi Na Daya Zuwa Na Goma Sha Huɗu* (2012) by Bukar Usman. However, little do people know about the adaptation of Hausa oral literature and

culture into video films. Therefore, my research sets out to:

- examine the link between oral literature and Kanywood video films;
- uncover that different aspects of cultures are transmitted through Kanywood video films; and
- analyze Kanywood video films based on conventional performances.

In addition, the study will serve as an analysis of some oral performances that have already been transformed into video films, whose primary aim is to educate and entertain viewers. At the end, it is intended that the work will provide important recommendations for further research.

#### **4. 4. Data Collection Procedures and Research Fieldwork**

Secondary sources of data like the published materials on Kanywood video films, and interviews within the community under investigation, in this case Hausa, were also used. Nigeria is home to the Kanywood film industry and the major country where Hausa is spoken, therefore the research was restricted to Nigeria for data collection. A description of each of the methods of data collection used for this research is duly presented below.

In carrying out this research, a research fieldwork of six months was conducted in Nigeria in order to get involved directly with the setting and the filmmakers. Fieldwork is, by all means, essential, “it enables the researcher to immerse himself in a naturally occurring [...] set of activities so as to obtain firsthand information and facts on what is happening in a particular place at a particular time” (Silverman 2001:33). As it was not possible for me to conduct the research concurrently with my teaching position at Humboldt University, it was conducted during vacations of 2011 – 2016. Kanywood industry is located in northern Nigeria and the research fieldwork focuses on cities that are connected with the industry in one way or the other. The cities of Kaduna and Kano were visited during fieldwork for data collection. Jos is another city which was useful for fieldwork for two main reasons. First, by its virtue of being a Sharia free state, filmmakers take advantage of this to shoot and produce films there. Second, Jos is the base of some prominent Kanywood actors, such as the late Ahmad S. Nuhu, Tanimu Akawu, Haruna Talle Maifata, Mohammed Bello Mohammed. Also,

there are actresses, such as Zainab Abdullahi who is popularly known as Zainab Indomie, Zainab Ishola and Zainab Unguwar Rogo, who feature dominantly in Kanywood video films. Even though the fieldwork concentrates in Kaduna and Kano, some additional interviews were conducted in Bauchi.

#### **4. 5. Interviews**

An interview can be thought of as a guided conversation between a researcher and somebody (often referred to as the informant) from whom the researcher wishes to learn something. It is one of the most flexible and widely used methods for gaining qualitative information about people's experiences, views and feelings. This explains why interviews are often used as part of any meaningful fieldwork. According to Atkinson and Silverman (in Silverman, 2001:22), we all live in what might be called an interview society in which interviews seem central to making sense of our lives. More often than not, the pattern of interview varies. For this research, I used a format of interviews, which allows for more guidelines, and the questions that are administered to interviewees are usually fixed. Therefore, a number of questions to ask as guide to the topics that we wished to cover in the one-on-one interview were prepared. In order to allow the interviewees to respond and voice out their experiences so that in-depth information could be gained, they were asked questions and their responses were recorded and then transcribed for analysis. This manner of interview gives access to comparison on the responses from different individuals of interviewees. The interview protocols are placed as appendix to the dissertation.

I experienced no problem getting in touch with the interviewees as Abdalla Uba Adamu had connected me with Ahmad S. Alkanawy, the Executive Secretary of the Kano branch of Motion Pictures Practitioners Association of Nigeria (MOPPAN) from 2003 - 2016 as well as board member of the Kano State Censorship Board from 2011 - 2015. Alkanawy thus became my major contact, as he enjoys a good rapport with filmmakers. The interviews were important in extracting informants' reactions or feelings in examining the way in which various attitudes toward performance based Kanywood films are similar or different.

Before conducting the interviews, an interview schedule of questions was

drawn up. Various stakeholders of Kanywood, particularly film producers, directors, actors, actresses, viewers and editors, were interviewed and their responses on Kanywood video films were taped. The interviewees gave useful information about performance based Kanywood films. What the researcher requires during research fieldwork for a research like the present one is to explore the views, experiences and motivations of the interviewees, mostly information within the spaces of their opinions or impressions on the research topic. Therefore, the interviews are opportune moments for providing a deeper understanding of Kanywood video films and the industry in general. Specifically, the interview is useful and appropriate for exploring sensitive issues, where the interviewee may not want to write on or talk about such topics in public.

Research consists of more than asking a few people a few questions; it involves watching people, especially in a research like the present one. Based on this, rather than sit down and control events by asking questions, I also made efforts to become part of the event by attending shootings. While at the location of a shooting, I directly observed the filmmakers, particularly the director, the actors, the actresses and the cameramen in their roles. Also, my presence at the shooting location allowed me to observe ways of interaction between actors and actresses, some of whom were among my interviewees. In essence, the focus was on finding out about what they actually do, rather than on what people think about what they do.

#### **4. 5. 1. The Interviewees**

The interviewees were selected experienced people in the field of study, namely Kanywood. This means that those who served as interviewees were not drawn from just anywhere. Rather, those interviewees who closely matched the criteria of the research were interviewed. To this effect, those who were connected to the Kanywood industry as film producer, film director, film actor, film actress, film viewers and film editors served as interviewees for this research.

#### **4. 5. 2. Transcription and Translation**

After the interviews, I spared time for transcribing the recorded information in order to permit analysis. As most of the information was recorded in Hausa, I took time to translate the information into English. Perakyla (2004:169) says transcription and translation are important as the functions of the transcriptions are not only to locate particular phenomena, but they can also be shown to others. Similarly, Paul Ten (2004:155) asserts that they can be quoted in publications, and they can support analytic claims made about recorded practices. At the end of the transcription, I considered the transcript as a representation of the information that was recorded in the tapes hence it was used as support of the study.

#### **4. 6. Constitution of a Corpus**

Watching a number of about fifty-five productions enabled me to cling to Kanywood video films and I became much more familiar with them. Furthermore, a first intense phase of viewing enabled me to select the corpus, which will be presented and analyzed in this dissertation. There are two ways by which I got access to the video films which I watched. First, I bought many video films during fieldwork at *Kasuwar Kofar Wambai* (Kofar Wambai market) and Bata Roundabout, both in Kano. It is pertinent to mention that buying video films at Kofar Wambai market is more reliable because one is bound to get original copies of video films from video distributors, whereas at Bata Roundabout the chances to get pirated copies are high as most of the video films are sold by hawkers. The second way I got access to the video films was online through the following channels: AzurfaTV, Hausa movies TV, and Sani Ali Youtube.

I made notes on relevant ideas such as those that relate to the issues of shift, change and transformation as I watched the video films. I noted which strategies the filmmakers employ and that helped in the realization of the concept of metamorphosis of performance when it shifts from one medium to another. Since this is the central idea of this study, I noted the narrative and performative elements as the common areas of the reappraisal of performance which the filmmakers adopt.

Selection of relevant video films for in-depth analysis was central in this dissertation. As one of the aims of this research was to analyze Kanywood video films based on oral performance, I paid much attention to video films on culture, custom and tradition. To accomplish this task, I decided on the number of video films to serve as corpus. In making the decision, I took into cognizance the research question, so that the decision depended on the type of question that the research was asking. Therefore, video films which were found to contain scenes on customs or those video films whose sources were based on oral performances were considered for selection.

#### **4. 7. Film Analysis**

Video films are composed of audio-visual narration, dialogue and action. While some of the actions on screen are important to the viewers and therefore form the backbone of the video film storyline, others are just blithe: casual and done without serious consideration. The analysis, as a matter of preference therefore, is concerned with reference to the way in which actions are done, experienced or known and changed in the selected video films. This refers to the characters' actions and their behaviors that help to establish and buttress change in the video films. It includes the manner in which characters are placed in the frame that depicts shift from the traditional to the bare essentials of the contemporary. Regarding narrative in the video films, the analysis focuses on the type of storylines and the information communicated, withdrawn and withheld at distinct and separate points in time in the narrative, and the kind of shift that is encountered between the storylines of the oral performance and that of the selected video films.

At a wider level of analysis, the selected video films are analyzed in terms of *mise-en-scène* and cinematography which Patrick Phillips describes as “weave of images and sound” (2000:ix). Certainly, it is important to recognize the range of key inputs which determine meaning and response in film viewing. It means that video films are produced from a viewpoint of a director. Hence, to analyze the angle of point of view, which is the position from which narrations and actions are observed or narrative technique in the film is readily useful to access the nature of shifts involved in video film. Therefore, analysis makes meaning from the exploration of the images

which are seen on screen. I discuss how different pictorial elements convey the meaning of the films. More often, the analysis discusses further than images to describe other elements such as light, camera movement and how these elements influence other elements of the film such as story and mood.

Considering the films' sound, the analysis more specifically examines the use of language and non-linguistic sign systems. In this respect, I find the opinion of James Monaco not only relevant, but also useful. According to Monaco (2000:157), “film is not a language, but it is like language, and since it is like language, some of the methods that we use to study language might profitably be applied to a study of film. Similarly, the need to consider language in the analysis of film is stressed by Christian Metz (1974:47) as he conscientiously contends that “it is not because the cinema is language that it can tell such fine stories, but rather it has become language because it has told such fine stories”. Predominantly, the analysis does not only seek to explain what happened and what it all meant in a particular scene or film, but it also considers the scene or film carefully and then forms an opinion. This is a critical approach to film which Phillips (2000:1) refers to as film talk, a social, negotiated response provided by the cinematic experience. Evidently, film analysts should discuss how convincing they find a film's story – the turning points and twists in the plotlines, the inspiration of the actors, the important subjects they discuss and the extent to which the actors' dialogues led to the satisfactory ending of the film or otherwise.

Therefore, the study analyzes six video films with focus on particular instances in the video films in which a form of story or action serves as the material upon which another form is imposed. I make reference to performance settings which are encroached on the narration or storyline of the selected video film itself where emphasis lies on past event which the story recounts. I look at instances of change in the plot or action which led to a transformation of real performance. Evidently, I describe the impact of certain roles and performances by reference to their leap into the film medium.

#### 4. 8. Other Related Materials

Apart from published texts by scholars and researchers on Kanywood in scholarly journals and monographs (relevant published materials were examined in the chapter on Review of Literature), press material such as magazines and newspapers were used as secondary sources for data collection. The magazine I used primarily is entitled *Fim Magazine*<sup>2</sup>. It was established in March 1999 and its production company is called Informant Publishers Limited, situated at Number AK 8, Yoruba Road Kaduna, Nigeria. It is a monthly magazine with different columns written in Hausa. One column in the magazine which is *Ra'ayoyinku* (Your Opinions) appears constantly in each of the editions. In addition to entertaining and educating its teeming readers, the magazine serves as a viewers' forum where the general public expresses their feelings about Kanywood video films, actors, actresses and Kanywood industry in general. Furthermore, the magazine gives an insight into trends of events in Kanywood industry and the updates on actors and actresses.

In striving to engage in this research, data collation was undertaken through interviews during fieldwork. What the interviewees said was treated as utterances of people with insights on the topic of the study. The procedure of data collation, therefore, allowed me to understand Kanywood filmmakers and how they made sense of their art in filmmaking. By doing so, the research made it possible to understand how people relate to Kanywood video films in addition to emphasizing and drawing attention to the affiliation between Hausa orality and its transition. This suggests that people could be able to get a slightly better understanding of the metamorphosis of not only Hausa oral performances, but also culture in general if they could carefully relate the correlation of paternity between Hausa conventional performances and Kanywood video films. This aspect of connection can be achieved through the exploration of the traditional forms of performances, which I discuss in chapter five. In addition, people's understanding can be influenced through analysis of some selected video films, which is undertaken in chapter seven.

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<sup>2</sup> *Fim* is a Hausa corrupted word for the English word 'film'.



## Chapter Five: Hausa Traditional Forms of Performance

In the previous chapter, I described the methodology used in this research. In this chapter I explore the historical background of the Hausa with emphasis on their identity and where they are found. The chapter also discusses three types of Hausa traditional performances: firstly, performances for achieving religious purposes, such as *bori*; secondly, performance for the aristocrats, such as *wasan gauta* and court singers; and, thirdly, performances for the commoners, such as *kalankuwa* and *kamanci*. I examine the condition of these performances and argue that they are shifting into video films.

### 5. 1. Historical Background of the Hausa People

Before investigating metamorphosis of oral performance in Kanywood video films, a quick look at the historical background of the Hausa people, the types of performances they practice and the current status of the performances is essential. The term Hausa refers to native speakers of the language as well as to neighbouring ethnic groups, who have adopted it as their first language. Specifically, Newman (2000:1) states that it is the language of ethnic Hausa and settled Fulani in what one might call Hausa land proper. Similarly, Jaggar (2001:1) claims that as a result of historical contact, mother-tongue speakers of Hausa include many ethnic Fulani. The Hausa people form one of the three largest ethnic groups in Nigeria often referred to as the “Big Three”, i.e. Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba (arrangement based on alphabetical order). Kano, Nigeria, for quite long a center of commerce, contains the largest concentration of the speakers of Hausa. Indeed, Kano can be said to be the modern capital of Hausa speakers. Also, the Hausa can be said to form the biggest group in the Niger Republic. There are said to be more than a million Hausa speakers in the Republic of Sudan (Ahmed, 2000:32). According to Argungu (in Abu-Manga, 1999:7), the Hausa community in the Sudan is believed to be the largest Hausa Diaspora in the world. The permanent settlement of the Hausa communities in the Sudan could be understood as the result of what Abu-Manga describes as pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia with hardship (ibid). While some travelers completed the journey after many strenuous years, others

became stranded on the way and ended up settling themselves permanently in other countries. R. C. Abraham (1946) reports an example of such instance, as quoted in Abu-Manga (1999: 8),

...while en route to Eritrea via the Sudan, I was amazed to see a young girl selling bean-cake and calling out waina! Waina! She told me that she was of Kano origin and that there were many hundreds of Hausas living in Wadi Medani like herself. These people of Wadi Medani and many towns of Sudan were Hausa pilgrims to Mecca who ran short of money on their return and were unable to make their way back to their home towns in Nigeria. They have retained Hausa and taught it to their children born in Sudan.

There are also communities of Hausa in Ghana, Togo, Benin, Cameroon and Chad. According to Ahmed (2000:32), the Hausa settlers have been established in these areas since a fairly long time, certainly before the coming of the Europeans to West Africa. The Hausa distinguish between seven proper Hausa states called *Hausa bakwai*, the seven Hausa states, and *Banza bakwai*, the seven illegitimate Hausa, the latter being ethnic groups who have been under Hausa influence for a long time and have therefore partly or wholly adopted the language and civilization of the Hausa. The *Hausa bakwai* are the cities: Biram, Katsina, Zazzau (Zaria), Kano, Rano, Gobir, Daura. The *Banza bakwai* are: Zamfara, Nupe, Kebbi, Gwari, Yauri, Ilorin (Yoruba), Kwararrafa (Jukun). Bargery (1934:XI) cites Ibn Batuta's testimony regarding these Hausa states, as he claims that "it is evident that about the middle of the fourteenth century at least some and probably all of the Hausa lived in the country which they inhabit today, and it is likely that they had already been living there for centuries". In Nachtigal's opinion, according to Bargery, the Hausa came from the east, whereas Barth is convinced that they are a branch of the Berbers (Amazigh) in North Africa, who immigrated into their present residences about A.D. 1000 (XI). Another assertion related to the origin of the Hausa, which of course is the most often attested tradition, is the legend of Bayajidda. According to this legend, the Hausa are descendants of a certain Arab adventurer called Bayajidda, who arrived at Daura around the first century A.D. and killed the mighty snake of the "Kusugu" well. His act of bravery enabled him to marry Damagaram, the Queen of the town. She gave birth to a son

called Bawo, and Bawo in turn begot six sons, who along with Biram (Bayajidda's son born at Gaya when he fled from Borno) founded the seven Hausa states above. Summarily, the term Hausa is the name of a language and of a people, however, what remains a fact is that today Hausa remains a jumbled mishmash of ethnic groups. In this regard, Bargery (1934:XII) claims that it would appear true to assume the existence of a basic group of people associated with Hausa. However, the original group of people that formed the nucleus of the Hausa of today had in their early history been expanded and in fact transformed by immigration from the north and east. Cultural events in Hausa society are enclosed with forms of performances such as singing, dancing, drumming, and rituals. This justifies the assertion that performances are forms of religious and social acts among all the world's cultural communities, including Hausa. From the point of view of the past religious and present cultural experiences within Hausa social structure, this chapter considers two main categories of Hausa performance. These are oral performances for religious purposes and oral performances for entertainment.

## **5. 2. Oral Performances for Religious Purposes**

Religion is considered as the earliest source in the manifestation of performance in particular and drama in general, as Roscoe (1971:176) claims, "it is hard to find scholars who would challenge the view that drama's roots lie in religious and quasi – religious practices". Like other communities, the Hausa have had an earlier religion. Evidently, before the Hausa had contact with the Berbers, the Asbenawa (Tuaregs), the Mandingoes and the Europeans, they practised a traditional religion. The worship of spirits known as "iskoki" constituted their religion. At Dala rock in Kano lived Barbushe, the priest of a spirit called Tsumburbura who dwelt in a sacred tree and received sacrifices of goats and fowls from his worshippers. Jigawa and neighbouring villages around Gwarzo were inhabited by Hausa in the pre-Islamic age. During traditional ceremonies, the priest, Barbushe, exercised a ritual jurisdiction and leadership in concert with other senior lineage heads. This religion, according to Kofoworola and Lateef (1987), is one of the earliest standing points of Hausa performing arts. It is based on the existence of some invisible or spirits called *iskoki*.

The Hausa believe that the spirits have powers which are capable of controlling people's lives, their fortune and even their daily affairs and issues of their state of being or existence. Based on the acceptance of the existence of the spirits and on curiosity, the Hausa then try to unfold the obscure matters of the natural world around them by making efforts to understand the power of nature with the sole aim of making it to work in their favor. To accomplish this, a religious form of performance, which serves as a means of communication to the invisible spirits with the intention that they could draw the attention of the spirits to the solution of their problems, is employed. Such problems could be various forms of life's experiences: disease, drought, and war. It is not an overstatement therefore when Bauman (1977:32) shows how performance can involve healing by using specific curing chants. The idea of invoking the unseen forces developed into what can be described as *bori* among the Hausa.

The earliest religious practice in the ancient Hausa speaking areas before the advent of Islam in Hausa land is *bori*. It is similar to voodoo, a form of magic practiced in the Caribbean, especially Haiti. However, voodoo is said to have its origin from West Africa. Nowadays in Hausa society such belief and practice are looked upon contemptuously and it is considered not only as superstitious belief and practice, but as *kafirci* (not believing in God) as well, at least among Muslims. In support of this fact, Ahmed (2000:41) says that *bori*'s polytheistic and pantheistic features are contrary to Islam, and there is little wonder therefore that *bori* has disappeared considerably in Muslim Hausa community, although there are still some traces of adherents of *bori* among Maguzawa<sup>3</sup>. Our concern in this study is not to debate on the status of *bori* now, but to discuss it as an earlier form of Hausa performance and how it serves as a means of entertainment that involves some kinds of demonstrations to enhance the audience's appreciation and pleasure during events such as wedding and naming. However, when not undertaking these normal life ceremonies, it is believed that *bori* performance must take place in special locations such as under the baobab, tamarind trees and riverside areas in order to ensure their effective response or intervention. These locations are believed to be the dwelling place of the spirits in addition to *Birnin Jangare*<sup>4</sup>. There is no certainty regarding where the city of *Jangare* is situated as there are only

<sup>3</sup> *Maguzawa* pl. *Bamaguje* sg. Mas. *Bamagujija* sg. Fem. These are Hausa who do not practice neither Christianity nor Islam as a religion. Based on this, they are regarded as pagan Hausa. More often than not, they live in rural areas where they can practice *bori* without much persecution.

conflicting pieces of evidence. While some believe that *Jangare* is by the east of Hausa land, others say it is around Argungu in Kebbi State, whereas some people are of the opinion that it is in the south of Kano (Umar, 1982). As a ritual, *bori* consists of two major groups, the “invisible” and the “visible”, and each group has class or hierarchy based on the importance of the spirits and the adherents of *bori* in the cult. While the invisible group consists of *Ubangiji* (Lord) as the supreme leader and then the *Iskoki* (spirits), the visible group consists of *Boka* (traditional healer, native doctor, wizard) and *`Yan bori* (Bori cultists) and then other people who consult *boka* or *`yan bori* for fortune telling and medicine.

### 5. 2. 1. *Bori* as Performance

As a performance, *bori* is normally an annual event although it is performed occasionally whenever a need arises. No matter when it is performed, before the performance, adequate arrangements have to be done. These include fixing a day for the performance, sending invitations to musicians, other fellow *bori* cultists from far and near and other personalities who may not necessarily be *bori* cultists, but are affiliated to it in one way or another. Various reasons necessitate *bori* performance. For example, *bori* is performed for curative purposes i.e. to cast out a spirit which is tormenting someone. Kofoworola and Lateef (1987:7) explain that:

It is assumed that the *bori* performance involves such serious objectives as searching for the solutions to curative crisis, psychological and social conflicts, confrontations and other forms of disorderliness.

It is also performed for the purposes of wedding, naming and coronation. In his observations, Andrew Horn (in Kofoworola and Lateef, 1987) outlines that:

There are four distinct types of *bori* performance, two of which are primarily for public amusement and two of which are intended to achieve communication with the *iskoki*, spirits (1987:7).

*Bori* performance like other performances is characterized by the use of costumes. During *bori*, each *dan bori* (bori cultist) wears special costume that relates to the spirit he possesses and then goes to the venue which is usually a field and joins with the

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<sup>4</sup> It is believed among adherents of *bori* that apart from the sacred abodes of the spirits, there is a big city mainly of the spirits called *Birnin Jangare* (the city of Jangare)

others. While *`yan bori* converge on one side of the field, the musicians take the other side and the spectators rally round the field. The performance begins with a welcoming speech by a *boka* (traditional healer) or a renowned *dan bori*. After the speech, the musicians start drumming and singing praises or epithets of the spirits. Each *dan bori* that hears the epithets of the spirit which possessed him becomes irritated and then starts jumping and falling on the ground with his buttocks. He claims being possessed by a spirit therefore he begins to mimic the spirit by which he is known to have been possessed. For example, he who is possessed by the spirit *Malam Alhaji* (Mr. Alhaji), behaves like an Arab and talks using words like Arabic. He who is possessed by the spirit *Bebe* (dumb man) imitates a dumb person. Similarly, he who is possessed by the spirit *Kuturu* (leper) makes fists by curling his fingers tightly towards the palm of his hand. When it is realised that the *dan bori* is fully possessed, *boka* then sings the epithet of the spirit tormenting the *dan bori*, as well as murmuring in the form of incantation to indicate that he is receiving instructions from the spirits. Thereafter, he is heard giving thanks along with epithets. This shows that success is achieved. At times the *boka* is heard apologizing and begging, indicating that the spirit is annoyed. This process goes on until a possessed *dan bori* is dispossessed and has fully come back to his senses, then musicians stop drumming and spectators go back home.

### **5. 2. 2. *Bori* Initiation Rites**

*Bori* has a special initiation rite known as *girka*. When someone is sick, usually *boka* makes attempt to cure him. But when the sickness persists, he advises that the assistance of *`yan bori* has to be sought in order to set the sick person free from the spirit that possesses him and ensures the sickness. Sometimes, it is said, if you cannot defeat them, join them. Based on this assertion, the *boka* postulates that there has to be a means of persuading the spirit to remain with the sick person in form of his mentor. The *boka* has the prowess to know which spirit has possessed the sick person therefore he takes the responsibility of training him how to live peacefully with the spirit. Some of the materials for the initiation are: mats, wrappers, one white and black chicken, concoction, perfume and decorated calabash.

While the person undergoing initiation sits on a new mat and covers his or her head with a white wrapper, the two chickens are slaughtered. The *boka* performing the initiation keeps the white chicken on the head of the person undergoing initiation while he puts the black chicken on his shoulder and then goes round the sick person three times. After this episode, he consults the spirits. He persuades some of the spirits and then asks if they will settle down with the sick person. The persuasion and the questions continue until demand is achieved. The sick person is asked to walk backwards, jumps and falls on the ground with his or her buttock and instructed not to talk to anyone for three days. During this period, his or her food and drink are mixed with concoction. On the third day, which is called *fasa baki* (break the silence), the sick person cleans his or her mouth and eyes with a cotton sucked in concoction and after answering a call from *boka*, he or she can resume talking. On the last day of the initiation, there are varieties of food and live chickens. *Boka* prays, slaughters the chickens and then takes off the white wrapper covering the head of the sick person. He or she then bathes with concoction, after which he or she is asked to dress up properly. From then, the person is initiated and becomes *dan bori* and whenever he or she hears the epithets of the spirit which possesses him or her, he or she becomes possessed immediately. Usually, *bori* initiation rite ceremony takes three to seven days. However, depending on the sickness which may necessitate *girka* (initiation), it can last for two or three weeks and even three months.

It is pertinent to mention that *bori* is discussed here in the context of performance due to its form. It is an enactment that comprises qualities such as “unauthentic” and “imitation”. For example, the enactment of speaking Arabic by a *bori* cultist who is possessed by Mr Alhaji is unreal. Second, the costume he wears and the words he utters are only to simulate an Arab. He changes his real or genuine behaviors through imitation. He transforms through his attire, speech and the manner he behaves. In general, the appearances of *bori* cultists during *bori* are out of the ordinary when they are compared to their everyday or normal modes of actions. Therefore, *bori* is considered as a performance based on its mimetic characteristics.

### 5. 3. Oral Performance for Entertainment

Like other oral genres, Hausa oral performances are handed over from one generation to another through narration, memorialization and eventually training only. This is due to the absence of any system of writing in the early Hausa society hence during that preliterate period the only type of literature must remain oral, often referred to as *adabin baka*<sup>5</sup>. Oral literature including performances continues to be the source or medium of entertainment until the beginning of the massive production of electronics. Hausa oral performances are numerous and, as Skinner says, the Hausa have a tradition of arts. There exist performances of tales, praise songs and poetry, sometimes involving gesture or music<sup>6</sup>. For the purpose of this study, oral performance for the aristocrats and oral performance for the commoners shall be considered.

#### 5. 3. 1. Oral Performance for the Aristocrats

Politically, the early Hausa society was organized based on kinship: families and clans. When the population started to increase and urbanization came up, power to control people was shared between the custodians of ancestral cults and the traditional rulers. The highest rank a leader can attain is *Sarki* (chief). Although *Sarki* is considered as the chief executive, he has some council officials with whom the affairs of the town are managed in the palace of the chief. In such a setting, performances are carried out as elaborate and organised form of entertainment.

##### 5. 3. 1. 1. *Wasan Gauta*

*Wasan gauta* is performed at the palace by mainly the concubines who usually get the full support and view of the chief, his courtiers and officials of the royal administration. It is a comical and satirical performance which is performed only once in a year. The participants assign to themselves the personalities of certain officials

<sup>5</sup> Hausa literature is classified into two major parts of written literature and oral literature. While written literature comprises prose, poetry and drama, oral literature which is called *adabin baka* in Hausa comprises folktales, songs, performances, proverbs, tongue twisters etc. For a full classification of Hausa literature, see Dangambo Abdulkadir *Rabe-raben Adabin Hausa Da Muhimmancinsa Ga Rayuwar Bahausha* (1984).

<sup>6</sup>Hausa oral arts involving performance include *tatsuniya* (tales), *labaru* (traditions), *kirari* (epithets), *wasanni* (plays), *karin magana* (proverb), *wakoki* (songs), *kacici-kacici* (riddles), and *salon magana* (tongue twisters). See, Skinner Neil (1980)



including the chief himself and they try to imitate their characters in front of the audience and send them certain messages about their chief, his courtiers and officials of the royal administration. The actresses employ various forms of imitations and gestures to simulate their masters in addition to wearing men's cloth. They strive hard to imitate and reproduce all manners of characters and behaviors so that the audience would recognize the person being imitated. Although, the objective of this performance is to entertain, but from a critical point of view, it functions as a check and balance in the administration of the palace. It does not only draw the attention of the chief to issues of the palace, making him aware of certain behaviors of some of his council officials, but it makes him aware of some of his personal weaknesses, too, so that he could rectify the situation. Relating Schechner's (1988:56) view on performance to the above episode, performance attains its self-realization. The aim is not only a wish to make performance efficacious, but also to use it to change people. However, performance in this situation, yet, according to Schechner (1988:132), is not a passive mirror of social change, but it is part of the complicated feedback process that creates change.

#### **5. 3. 1. 2. Court Singers**

Another genre of oral performance for the aristocrats is the court singers, who base their performances on oral songs to praise the royalty of the aristocrats, entertain them and their subjects, and ridicule the adversaries of the aristocrats. More often than not, the praises are linked to historical tradition, which focus on expertise in war-fare of the lineage of the aristocrats. However, nowadays that wars and disputes between emirates are no longer practiced, emphasis on the praises has shifted to the good leadership qualities of the aristocrats. The mode of communication to the audience has also shifted to the electronic media to conform to change from the traditional, contrary to what Kofoworola and Lateef assert,

The performing arts groups of the aristocracy perform for the consumption of the aristocracy; the settings of their performances are usually located in certain places, in the presence of particular members of the society and on special of ceremonial occasions (1987:79).

### 5. 3. 2. Oral Performance for the Commoners

Difference in social status by way of the place an individual occupies in the community exists in traditional Hausa society. Placement is based on hierarchical form and it is basically in antonyms. There are *masu sarauta* (aristocrats) and the *talakawa* (commoners), the bourgeoisie and the masses, the elites and the non-elites. Despite these differences, no class is entirely independent from another, but they remain related to another in a way. While there are performances for a privileged few chosen people, the commoners too have chances of watching performances in spaces such as streets, market areas and other public places since most of the performers are mobile. Two examples of oral performances for the commoners are *kalankuwa* and *kamanci*.

*Kalankuwa* is an example of mixed gender performance of young men and women, which has the acceptance and approval of the community. Usually, *kalankuwa* is performed in the evening and it lasts for four days. Before it ends, the chief of the town requests the youths to undertake a communal work such as environmental sanitation and any youth who refuses to partake in the work is punished because his behavior is considered as decadence. The punishment serves as lesson to others in the community where individuals are expected to conform to the norms of the society. In essence, while the performance is a reaffirmation of the moral values of the community, the space is a stage for communal gathering. In Schechner's (1988:14) words, certainly, more than elsewhere, these places promote social solidarity. For Kofoworola and Lateef (1987:50) in their description of the pervasive use of the term *dandalin wasa* (literally: playing ground) that means performance space, posit that the playing ground can be identified not only in its context as a performing space, but also in its concept as a forum for the basic conflict of life.

*Kamanci* is derived from the word *kaamaa*, which means to catch in English. The performer of *Kamanci* is called *dan kama* sg. *Ƴan kama* pl. The word *dan* in this context means “the person who”. In other contexts it means native of, little, and in some contexts it signifies profession. For example, *dan Berlin* (native of Berlin), *dan yaro* (little boy) *dan sanda* (policeman). *dan kama* therefore means the person who

catches. The performer gets this name due to his ability to catch effectively. In most cases after performing, his audience give him gifts as mark of appreciation. Rather than receive the gift, he prefers that it is thrown to him so that he can demonstrate yet another expertise by catching it. The performance is comical and its main theme centers on man's interaction and attitude towards food. That is why some people are of the opinion that *kamanci* originates during famine at a time in history although Kofoworola and Lateef are of the opinion that *kamanci* began as a royal form of entertainment, but gradually moves into the streets and becomes a freelance entertainment for the commoners. For one of 'yan kama's episodes, see Kofoworola & Lateef (1987:91).

#### **5. 4. The Present Status of Hausa Performance: Extinction or Shift?**

When there is contact between two cultures, local and foreign, more often than not the local culture is affected. In most cases, traditional ways of life are doomed to witness gradual or sudden change, the latter corresponding to a quick transition. Gradual change takes place slowly over a long period of time, sometimes spanning several generations. In the case of Hausa performance, the situation is an issue of cultural coalition. According to my observations, there is harmony between culture, media technology and globalization. Therefore, Kannywood filmmakers make use of this convergence and the video films are fused with existing performances. This development suggests that these days the entertaining performances in spaces such as streets and village squares are changing into the new technical film medium.

In the 1970s there was no availability of video players despite the oil boom. As a result, people continued to witness conventional performances in squares as a means of cultural display. Alongside the squares, people enjoyed performances of professional performers such as 'yan kama and 'yan gambara (comedians), who moved from one market to another. In the 1980s, the economy continued to depend heavily on imports due to the effects of the oil boom<sup>7</sup>. As a result of mass importation, Nigeria witnessed the emergence of electronic media. Therefore, in the last two decades or so, a shift has taken place in Hausa culture. In place of the performance spaces, as

<sup>7</sup> See Nigeria-Oil Boom. It can be accessed through the website, <http://www.onlinenigeria.com/economics/?blub=490>

Osofisan (2005:196) suggests, a new culture of information dissemination known as the video film has emerged and has become the most popular and fastest growing means of cultural consumption in Nigeria today.

However, the salient factor responsible for the new trend in cultural dissemination is economic: the need for self-employment in the wake of sharp rise in unemployment. Evidently, unemployment triggers off cultural, religious and linguistic identity – a kind of competition among ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria, the home of Nollywood, the variant Nigerian video film industry in English. On the other hand, films in Igbo and Yoruba languages or Igbo Nollywood and Yoruba Nollywood also abound to explore Igbo and Yoruba cultures. As Oyewo (2003) expresses in Ugochukwu (2013: 109), language is an integral part of a people's culture and communication is not only a unifying factor, but also a vital factor that contributes to the success and acceptability of the various genres of the video film production.

While some people see the Nigerian films in English, Nollywood, as medium that consciously or unconsciously promotes English, one of Nigeria's exoglossic languages as well as official language, others see the films as tools for promoting Christianity, especially after the emergence of the Hallelujah Films within Nollywood. Rype (2013:199) explains how many Pentecostal charismatic Christian pastors show Nollywood video films on their channels and in their churches in Kinshasa. Rype feels that it is not about desire for an African cultural exposition pattern that accounts for the popularity of Nollywood video films in Kinshasa, rather, it is because the video films are so easily inserted into the apocalyptic narratives zealously proclaimed by born-again Christians (2013:202). Obododimma Oha has researched on the link between Pentecostal Christianity and Nollywood in Nigeria and concludes that with the revolution in electronics culture, the site of the staging of the word of God in Nigeria now has shifted to video (Oha 2000:192). For Oha, it is amazing that almost every Christian revival in Nigeria now includes a film or video show in which an attempt is made to reach the individual participant through the rhetoric of the image (2000:193).

Films in Igbo and Yoruba no doubt portray and uplift Igbo and Yoruba cultures. Since the level of illiteracy in English is common among viewers of Kanywood video films in northern Nigeria, coupled with lack of competence in Igbo and Yoruba among

the Hausa and the need to counteract the promotion of Christianity, Kanywood video films spring up organically to compete with other film industries in southern Nigeria, in addition to the fact that there is the need to promote Hausa language and culture as well, as it is partly the focus of other film industries (Adamu, 2007:48). Adamu suggests yet some motives behind the video films, not only in Nigeria, but in other third world countries as well and this study finds his view relevant. Both Nollywood and Kanywood video films gained recognition through the rapid and effective spread of a global entertainment ethos and products such as the availability of satellite communication and television. It might be right to call the situation a new cultural revolution in which some Kanywood filmmakers consciously or unconsciously work towards transporting performances into their video films.

### **5. 5. Elements of Performance in Kanywood Video Films**

Production and distribution of Kanywood video films is in the increase, despite the controversies: criticisms, temporary ban on production, the shift of production from Kano and back, exodus of actors to Kaduna, Jos, Abuja, as well as the inter-industry movement of actors, suspension of actresses from the industry and the expulsion of Rahama Sadau from the industry for on screen hugging and cuddling with ClassiQ, a singer in his musical video, *I Love You*. The strong persistence in the production of the videos is possible due to the increase in technological advancements on the technical point of view, and injecting new ideas by the filmmakers on the creative and artistic point of view. The producers' and directors' work therefore is to provide means of entertainment.

In relating the relevance of the concept of performance to Kanywood video films, this study is of the opinion that, in the videos, viewers see some forms of local, domestic culture including music, comedy and dance as products of performance. Basically, Kanywood video films on the theme of comedy tend to portray the connection between comedy and real situations through performance, while videos containing song scenes seem to remind viewers of the Hausa performing musical traditions. With regard to speech, the dialogues are in Hausa.

It could be right to say that in Kanywood video films, there are existing

performances which the actors and actresses already know and they make efforts to reproduce those in films. The reproduction revives such performances which are dying out, as these days there is a tremendous decline in traditional performances not only in northern Nigeria. Osofisan (2005:196) observes a similar trend in western Nigeria and labelled it “theatre crisis”. According to him, “all the erstwhile theatre troupes have more or less disintegrated: all the actors dispersed into the video crowd in the manner that the popular Yoruba travelling theatre is no longer in existence”. Even *tashe*, the performance which is undertaken during the month of Ramadan (Muslim’s period of fasting) is experiencing transformation.

Inevitably, the study asserts that some video films and actions could be regarded as replica of earlier performance in a new medium. Therefore, some scenes from few video clips which contain actions that are synonymous to earlier performance are worthy to be mentioned and discussed. *Masha Allah* (2008) serves as an example of a turning point in the production of Kanywood video films. The filmmaker explores the focal point of Transparency International - the global anti-corruption organization - which leads the fight to unmask the corrupt from hiding their identities and illegal activities. The video film deals with the theme of alleged financial scandal or fraudulent act. The plot is constructed around Alhaji Ahmed (played by Shehu Hassan), an Executive Secretary in an oil company called National Petroleum Company (NPC). Ahmed is accused of financial misappropriation of the company’s funds which are committed to his care. He is suspended and a committee under the auspices of the Economic Fraud Commission (EFC) is set up with the mandate to investigate his act of embezzlement. The investigation shows a dramatic twist when it is obvious that Ahmed, who is first seen as a perfidious criminal, is later discovered to be not only innocent, but also a responsible citizen. From the legal perspective vis-à-vis the need for due process, which suggests concern with procedure as used in civilized societies, contrary to veto power, is followed in determining Ahmed's case. On a critical note, the filmmaker does not centre on due process only, but he exemplifies hope for a country that is known for corruption and also ratifies, once again, what the government aspires to: change and eradication of all forms of corruption, making way for a transformed generation to emerge.

While *Masha Allah* primarily explores contemporary themes, it also includes cultural motifs. The film's director casts Dandolo (Nura Yakubu), who specializes playing the role of a clown. He acts like the *Wawan Sarki* (The King's Fool) in traditional performance for the aristocrats. In the first place, there is similarity in the names of the actors, Dandolo (The Idiot) and *Wawan Sarki* (The King's Fool). Two of them are acting like the jester, whose primary role in the "palace" in case of Wawan Sarki and in the "house" in case of Dandolo is to entertain. Dandolo's case can be noticed from the scene where he was introduced to Ahmed and where he requests for redeployment from the garage to the family house of Ahmed. Dandolo states that he can not only perform domestic duties such as trimming and watering flowers, but he can also entertain the guests. In another scene Ahmed concedes to Dandolo's request for redeployment. He relocates to Ahmed's house when Ahmed is relaxing with members of his family. Dandolo's arrival in a funny manner is a source of amusement to the entire family. From the way they look at him, it is evident that the entire family is convinced that Dandolo is a clown of the highest rank. Indeed, Fatima one of the daughters of Ahmed, cannot control her laughter. In a third scene, Dandolo is watering flowers and at the same time singing and dancing. Barira and Fatima, the daughters of Ahmed feel entertained, and they confess that Dandolo is not only an entertainer, but he is also a comical one. In all the three scenes, while each of them can be considered as a scene within a scene, the rest of the actors have ceased to be actors, instead they have become viewers, who are being entertained by another actor who is not the protagonist of the main plot.

*Daskin Da Ridi* (ND), produced by Auwalu Muhammed Sabo and directed by Aminu Muhammed Sabo respectively is the second example. It is about orphanage, marriage, polygamy, hatred and how Indo, the protagonist finds herself in the middle of all these, and how she is affected by them. When Indo is bereaved of her parents, she is put in the care of her uncle as an orphan. Her relationship to the household of her uncle is sour, as she undergoes all sorts of scourges and maltreatments from her

uncle and his wife. Her heart as a girl is dry and dark. It is not only heartbroken at the demise of her parents, but it is also filled with the feeling of being completely alone as an orphan. Consequently, her early orphanage shapes her character as an adult. She participates in a competition to marry the prince. Her marriage is dramatic, as she is the only girl in the city and its environs who knows the name (*Daskin Da Ridi*) of the prince and mentions it to him, which is a prerequisite for any girl who wants to marry him. Indo's success in the competition does not go well with her uncle, as he uses all means to stop the royal wedding. He consults *boka* (the native doctor), consequently the prince goes astray. As her uncle arranges her wedding to a rich man, Indo confronts the cunning tricks of co-wives such as slander to gain favors from the husband. The tricks of her co-wives lead to her devoice. Since bad deeds hardly go unpunished, nemesis catches up with Ciroki, Indo's uncle, as well as her co-wives and they become blind. In a dramatic manner, the prince returns home and he and Indo are joined together as husband and wife. The video film is not only based on narrative storylines, but it also features song and dance performance. Each of the maidens sings to the prince, and he also responds in song. The song is an attempt to lure him into marriage. As each girl sings an exciting rhythm with soft and haunting melody, he responds to each one of them by requesting her to mention his name.

Waƙa            Assalam salam ɗan yaro assalam salam

Amshi           Wace ce ce take mini assalam salam?

Waƙa            (Suna) ce take maka assalam salam

Amshi           Na ji naki suna yarinya faɗi nawa suna

Waƙa            Ban san ka ba ɗan yaro, ban san ka ba

Amshi           Tun da ba ki san ni ba, yarinya koma da baya ki sha kuka

Translation

Song            Peace be unto you young man

Peace be unto you

Response      Who is she that wants to see me?

Song            It is (name) who wants to see you

Response      Okay, I heard your name young woman



Can you mention my name?  
 Song I do not know you young man  
 I do not know you  
 Response Since you do not know me young woman  
 Get back and languish

It is pertinent to mention that while the first case of embedded performance in *Daskin Da Ridi* involves all the young girls and the prince, the second case is between the prince and Indo only. Both performances are transformations of oral genres into a new medium of entertainment. The songs are direct extractions from the folktale, which forms the base of the video film's storylines.

The third case is *Mama Daso* (2008), directed by Nafi'u Zamfara and produced by Kariru Dan Gauta. The video film shows how unemployment has become canker of violence in a modern society. However, to a certain extent, some few key individuals in the helms of affairs are not affected by it, whereas the majority of the populace are being hit by it mercilessly. To make the situation more unpleasant, there is a worsening political and economic situation because workers are retrenched. A scene is set in a rural area and it features a traditional wrestling performance. From a superficial point of view, a wrestling competition has emerged between two groups of wrestlers. While the protagonist is leading one group, the other group is led by the antagonist. Critically, the film aims at protest for banning the production of Kanywood video films. The filmmakers have considered the ban as a crude channel through which youths are retrenched. They are placed in the labor market by those who are privileged to be in the helms of power. The retrenched youths therefore resort to traditional wrestling which is regarded as a profession for means of livelihood not only by the youths, but also by the society in general. Therefore, the filmmaker considers *kokawa* (wrestling) because unlike films and literature books, *kokawa* does not require screening by the censorship board before it can be performed. By adapting *kokawa*, the filmmakers are free from the nagging attitudes of the censors. The study considers the conflict within the groups of wrestlers as the representation of the crisis between those who want to remain rigid because they feel the systems cannot be changed and those who want to be flexible because they feel they can adapt to changing circumstances. This

representation situated Kanywood video films at the middle of cultural forms, as the filmmaking practice is reflecting characteristic elements of performances. The intention in this sub-chapter therefore has been to invoke an understanding of the various ways in which performances have been mixed and embedded into video films. Similarly, Thackway (2003:92) makes the observation that African cultural forms and artistic codes have been blended into the universal cinematographic medium as filmmaking has broadened and been adapted to reflect African sensibilities. Thackway's observation calls for a discussion on theatre in chapter six. The aim of the discussion is not only to explore the transition of theatre to film, and how theatre and film are blended, but also to highlight the aesthetics of the combination of theatrical and filmic devices.

## **Chapter Six: From Performance to Theatre and to Video Films**

In chapter five I examined three forms of Hausa conventional performances and the current status of the performances. In this chapter, I discuss the shift from performance to theatre and to video film. Other area such as Hausa theatre troupes is explored. The aim of this chapter is to clarify the linkage between performances, theatre, drama and the video film, for the purpose of connecting the films to the concept of intertextuality, which I mentioned in chapter two, and to reveal the nature of the transformation of Hausa culture.

### **6. 1. Defining Theatre and its Concept in Hausa**

It is not an exaggeration to speak of theatre as ambiguous because its different intended meanings abound. Each reference to theatre, therefore, conveys a peculiar significance, a precise meaning or sense. Ousmane Diakhate and Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh (1997:17) assert that “the word theatre denotes completely different realities”. Significantly, it can be understood that theatre is both performance event and performance space, even though the word theatre in ancient Greek means a place for viewing. This meaning corresponds to theatre as performance space. My concern in this study is the aspect of theatre that deals with performance even though Ziky Kofoworola and Yusuf Lateef (1978:49) explain that the concept of performing area in Hausa cultural context is however not exclusive of the performing context. Considering the complex nature of theatre, I find Don Rubin's explanation not only useful, but also suitable. According to Rubin (1997:224), “the term theatre in Nigeria is itself used as a gestalt for all stage works that conceptually integrate drama, music and dance.”. Basically, as performance passes through time, it changes and takes on many artistic forms.

Theatre has existed for a long time, spanning many generations. Diakhate and Eyoh (1997:17) make this observation, as they note that, “the African has always lived in close accord with theatre and the theatrical is an integral part of his or her identity”. The assertion is that it is as old as mankind, thus implying that a look into people's folk lifestyles involving live secular activities can give an insight into a long term manifestation of theatre in a given community. Among the Hausa for instance, there

existed enactments that can be characterized as theatre, which themselves are nowadays modified by technological influence, making them to move gradually away from their original form, without them being wiped out completely. Theatre has a long history of inception in Hausa society. However, according to Rubin (1997:220), an idyllic time of its existence can be traced back to sixteenth century, the period of political struggles and the establishment of kingdoms before colonialism. At the time, court theatres developed which included singers, drummers and actors. Apart from these, other artists organised themselves and formed theatre groups who travelled from village to village to perform their art from time to time. As Graham Furniss (1996:96) asserts, “this array of entertainers, and others, in the past and, apparently, to a lesser extent today, have worked the markets and public spaces of towns and villages throughout the Hausa speaking areas of Nigeria and its neighbours.”

Evidently, in Hausa community in particular, theatre is passing through the curving path of transformation to the video film medium. In a way, filmmakers modify already existing patterns and practices, which eventually become new ideas, products or systems of entertainment that are gradually enhancing hybrid culture. This is evident in the conversion or shift of conventional Hausa theatre to its transformed filmic versions. With the upcoming of film, manufacture, accessibility and usage of theatrical performance have changed drastically. It suggests that, as Adamu (2008:20) notes, “oral heritage has a tendency to be in danger of going into extinction or disappearance from the hearts and memory of the people”. But technology does not only facilitate the shift and transformation into electronic media, but also ensures its proper conservation and preservation. This can be judged positively. By inference, in pursuit of a career in filmmaking and for the effort to achieve a more refined entertainment, early Kannywood filmmakers used films to create a more polished theatre as means of entertainment for both urban and rural, educated and non-educated audience.

Generally, in Hausa the term theatre is used for all stage works that conceptually integrate drama, music and dance. Therefore, the concept of theatre is contained in its broad scope called *Wasannin Gargajiya* (traditional plays). But in its specific and narrow sense, according to Furniss (1996:84), “the idea is contained in the

Hausa term *Wasan Kwaikwayo* which literally, means “game or play of imitation”. *Wasan Kwaikwayo* is like the theatrical form in contemporary time such as drama to affirm to what E. T. Kirby (1974:22) posits concerning theatre that “to be sure a concept of theatre might well include dance and almost anything dramatic done before an audience”. Performances recorded in many regions indicate that theatre existed in these localities. Therefore, this study finds Richard Schechner's assertion on theatre useful because in Hausa, *wasan kwaikwayo* refers to both oral and written theatre. According to him:

Wherever the boundaries are set, it is within the broad region of performance that theatre takes place, and at the centre of the theatre is the script, sometimes the drama. And just as drama may be thought of as a specialized kind of script, so theatre can be considered a special kind of performance (1988:70).

## **6. 2. Patterns of Performance and Theatre in Northern Nigeria**

Consciously or unconsciously, there has been a transition and shift within the patterns of theatre in northern Nigeria. More obvious circumstances of metamorphosis are the records performers make for sale and their appearances on television besides travelling theatre, their original pattern of performance. The impact of theatre for the development of video film will be discussed subsequently. Meanwhile, I will present what theatre in northern Nigeria consists of with close emphasis to the concept Schechner (1988) claims.

### **6. 2. 1. Freelance Theatre Performance**

In my opinion, these performances can be considered as the prototypes, the first model upon which other samples are tested, transformed and improved. In form, they are simple enactments by a group of performers who move from one setting to another. Due to their mobile workforce, technically, Wole Soyinka (1997:11) refers to them as travelling theatres that are often completely unpredictable because they possess the qualities of changing form. Soyinka observes traveling theatres and how their transfer to television has been undertaken in many countries. Many of these performances abound in Hausa society. The core element of the theatre in the aesthetic form is

perceived through the concept of *was*a (play) and enactment therein. Evidently, the concept of *was*a is identifiable in the performance of the comedians: '*Yan kama* and '*Yan Gambar*a, the examples of freelance performers. The performances, *Kamanci* and *Gambaranci* involve the integrative elements such as music, songs, dance and acting movements which are combined as a composition of the performances. More often than not, these elements of theatre are transferred to Kanywood video films, a claim Adamu (2005:7) supports as he emphasizes that “with more imaginative embellishment, the Hausa theatre had, of course, underwent important transformations, starting first as a guild-related activity”.

While moralization forms the major message of other performances, for instance, folktale, a female dominated performance, the freelance theatre, dominated by men, has entertainment as the largest percentage of the central function. Would this gender space limitation of the Hausa theatre be a challenge or setback for Kanywood industry when the performances undergo transformation and metamorphosis to video medium? Adamu's (2005:6) observation is that “right from the start, Hausa theatre had a focus on gender segregation and in a didactic style, it emphasized female social responsibilities.”. The recent filmmakers' representation of cosmopolitan lifestyles of free or mixed gender particularly during shootings, song and dance routines is a shift from the gender segregation. However, Adamu asserts that the mixed gender by the filmmakers, “clashed with the mainstream conservative Hausa mind-set and created a critical tension between what the ethnic Hausa see as a pollution of Hausa cultural values, and what the filmmakers see as a modernization of the language and lifestyles of the people” (2005:1).

### **6. 3. Theatre Troupes and their Leap to the Film Medium**

In 1986, Hubert Ogunde got the mandate from the federal government to form a theatre troupe of talented artists with the aim of providing a national theatre company. Ogunde succeeded and the troupe performed at the National Theatre Iganmu-Lagos by providing dances and plays not only in English, the official language, but also in some indigenous languages such as Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. However, other troupes from other ethnic groups in northern Nigeria such as Afezere (Bauchi and Plateau States)

Tera (Gombe State) and Tiv (Benue State) also became vibrant.

Apart from what is considered the national theatre company, some states in northern Nigeria have their cultural and theatre troupes within the auspices of the state's Arts Council. They are mainly concerned with the preservation of conventional modes of performance through annual cultural festival. As Furniss states, "theatricality is also a feature of festivals and court life, as well as a wide variety of cultural events both state sponsored and locally organised" (1996:84). Besides national and state theatre troupes, there are private theatre troupes. They are troupes that are non-governmental and are therefore funded by individuals.

### **6. 3. 1 Drama Groups and their Transitions**

Between 1980 and 1984, the time which marks the beginning of Kanywood video films in Kano, there abounded drama groups such as the Gyaranya Drama Group, Gwauron Dutse Drama Group and Tumbin Giwa Drama Group. Plays (that were not published) such as, *Hukuma Maganin `Yan Banza* (The Police Arrest the Wayward People) and *Auren Dole* (Forced Marriage) were products of the groups. Among the drama groups, Tumbin Giwa Drama Group and Maitama Sule Drama Group were famous. While Gidado Waziri, a teacher at the then Government College (the present Rumfa College, Kano) founded Tumbin Giwa Drama Group in 1979, Maitama Sule founded Maitama Sule Drama Group. Plays of both groups shifted from stage drama and featured in the Nigeria Television Authority, Kano and also in the State Television Station CTV 67 as television drama particularly during religious festivals like the Idel-Fitri and Idel-Kabir. In 1984, Tumbin Giwa Drama Group produced a play called *Ma Ji Ma Gani* (We Shall Hear and then See) for NTA, Kano and in 1987 it presented another drama program titled *Jamila da Jamilu* (Jamila and Jamilu).

As for Maitama Sule Drama Group, its first stage theatre took place in 1948. The play was titled *Sarkin Barayi Nomau* (Nomau, the Chief of the Thieves). The play deals with the menace of highway robbery. This group underwent a series of transformations. According to Adamu (2005:9), "the troupe metamorphosed into Kano Drama Troupe and later, perhaps because of the official grants to them from the

Treasury, became part of the Kano Native Authority film Unit in 1948". One of its plays, *Baƙo Raƙa Ɗan Gari Kaba* (The Stranger is Merely a Bird of Passage), deals with the British colonial defeat and control of northern Nigeria and the subsequent power struggles and political freedom by Nigerian elites. This development might suggest that a new genre of theatre emerges and starts to be practised or conducted because of the radicalism by some elites who keep on questioning the socio-political system. It is synonymous with what Rubin describes as, "a theatre of social and political commitment, making use of indigenous performative forms in addition to western dialogue drama giving rise to a hybrid theatre created and performed communally" (1997:222).

Theatre groups continue to play their roles as sources of information, education and entertainment for the civil society in general as well as a source of buttressing their civic pride and identities. In addition, the groups serve as training camps for artists, most of whom are aged now. However, for some, their children and wards receive the baton and have become Kanywood video film stars to suggest that not only theatre metamorphoses to Kanywood video films, but the stars also undergo similar shift. Audu Kano, who used to feature in *Karkuzu*, a drama show in the 1980s, is now featuring in Kanywood as a veteran actor. Adamu (2008:10) cites Saratu Gidado, a popular actress in Kanywood video films, who takes up to acting from her father Muhammad Gidado alias Mr. G. As a youth, Mr. G. was an active member of Maitama Sule Drama Group. Other veteran actresses such as Hafsat Sharada and Hajara Usman take on stage drama as amateurs before they shift to achieve a strong reputation for their roles in Kanywood industry. Sharada alias Mai Aya, who passed away on November 17, 2015 was considered as the oldest actress in Kanywood. Her latest video film (done before her death) *Hajiya Babba* (2015) features Chinedu Ikedieze alias Aki, a popular Nollywood actor. Also, Usman features in many video films such as *Waraka* (2004), *Zaman Gida* (2010), *Rabin Jiki* (2011), *Matar Jami'a* (2013) and *Mazan Ko Matan* (2010). Similarly, Bashir Nayaya, one of the founding members of Ruwan Dare Drama Group in 1969 according to Adamu (2005:11) is now a mentor and veteran in Kanywood industry for acting in video films such as *Bana Bakwai*



(2007), *Dijangala* (2008), *Rabuwa* (2008), *Hubbi* (2012), *Gabar Cikin Gida* (2013). This development in Kanywood is practically the same in Nollywood. Stars such as Zab Ejiro, Zack Amata, late Justus Esiri and Lis Benson used to act in different outstanding national drama series: *Ripples*, *Cock Crow at Dawn*, *The Village Headmaster* and *Fortunes* respectively. As the transition from stage drama emerges, the stars in these groups shifted to feature in Nollywood, the Nigerian film industry.

It is worthy to mention that the drama groups remain autonomous groups, but the television stations control the products of their activities - the plays. This indicates that the groups lack control of distribution. Therefore, lack of complete autonomy and the emergence of commercial home video in southern Nigeria spark off the campaign for the need to have the same kind of film industry in northern Nigeria. In 1990, Adamu (2011) posits that the Tumbin Giwa Drama Group became independent and produces what is regarded as the first successful commercial video entitled *Turmin Danya* (1990). The video passed through the process of production by having a written script and a film director in the person of Ibrahim Mandawari. Mandawari used the stars of Tumbin Giwa Drama Group as the basis for the casts in *Turmin Danya* (1990). He considered that they were already familiar with acting. They had no fear of all-eyes-are-on-me syndrome, and shivering behind the camera was no longer a problem. Evidently, these factors influenced their smooth transition from stage to video medium.

Other troupes that are non-governmental and were funded by individuals of note in northern Nigeria in the 80s and 90s were the Parable Repertory Group, Zaria, Kuliya Manta Sabo, Kano, Maitama Sule Group, Kano, Karkuzu Company, Jos, Idon Matambayi, Sokoto, Yautai, Kaduna and Kowace Gauta Ja Ce, Bauchi. It is pertinent to mention that none of these troupes exists anymore today for different reasons. For example, Kowace Gauta Ja Ce, Bauchi split into two in 1996 when Bauchi State was carved into two states, Bauchi and Gombe. The division necessitated the movement of civil workers of Gombe origin to leave Bauchi and work in their new state, Gombe. This development did not only cripple the activities of the troupe, but it also forced the troupe to a standstill. But contrary to this setback, Iyantama's Drama Group metamorphosed into a Kanywood video film production company. Summarily, one could say that, even though some of the non- governmental theatre troupes ceased to

function, however, they made an impact on the history, development and metamorphosis of performance into Kanywood video film, as many members of the troupes shifted to the film industry.

### **6. 3. 2. Hausa Modern Theatre Tradition to Film Medium**

Literary texts in Hausa began to flourish when the Hausa acquired the language skills of reading and writing in Arabic through Muslim scholars in the fourteenth century. But Umaru Balarabe Ahmed (2000:60) argues that even though Islam was formally introduced to Hausa society in the fourteenth century, no Hausa literary text existed before that period of time. Ahmed emphasizes that available evidence of Hausa literary texts dates back to the seventeenth century and these were writings of Wali 'Dan-Marina and Wali 'Dan Masani of Katsina which were mainly on religion. It means that written drama was not prominent during early Hausa literary texts. Instead, written poetry receives more attention and it becomes the most established and popular literary genre due to the influence of Islam on Hausa society. Scripted text drama in Hausa made a breakthrough during colonialism with R.M. East *Six Hausa Plays* in 1936. A debut of another Hausa written play was the publication of *Wasan Marafa* by Abubakar Tunau in 1949.

To a greater extent, the plays are a mixture of indigenous forms with foreign theatre tradition adopted by educated Hausa. They deal with general social problems in Hausa society such as child abuse, forced marriage and prostitution. Apart from these texts which have Hausa as their source language, other texts are products of translation into Hausa from English and Arabic sources.

### **6. 4. The Impact of School Stage Drama on Film Production**

In northern Nigeria, formal schools that offer secular or western education known as *boko* (from the English word book) started in 1865 in Lokoja under Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther. Later in 1903 other schools were established in Kano and Wusasa near Zaria. In 1922 a college in Katsina was commissioned by Governor of Nigeria (1919 – 1925), Sir Hugh Clifford. The principal of the college was Mr G.A.J Bienemann. Among the teachers were Gerald Power, C.R. Butler and C.E.J Whitting,

as Ahmadu Bello (1961:29) explains. After realising that stage drama is very pleasing as well as fascinating in terms of invoking imagination, learning how to express ideas and communicate them, building confidence and making fun, a formal way of achieving these goals emerged in schools as school drama.

The earlier attempts to write drama for stage adaptations in schools, according to Pilaszewicz (1985:228), were undertaken by Aminu Kano as an individual. In 1938 – 1939, while he was still in secondary school, Kano produced plays in which he criticises the exploitation of the ordinary men and challenges the system of the ruling class in northern Nigeria. In the plays *Kai Wane ne a Kasuwar Kano Da Ba Za a Cuce Ka Ba* (Whoever You Might Be, You Will Be Cheated in Kano Market) and *Karya Fure Take Ba Ta `Ya`ya* (A Lie Blooms But Yields No Fruit), he depicts the exploitation of the common man by cruel and unkind merchants and he raises the problem of the excessive taxes levied upon the Hausa rural population. In 1939 – 1941, Kano produced about twenty short plays for use in schools, in which he ridicules some of the old fashion local customs or the conservatism of the older generation as well as the activities of the Native Authority in the system of indirect colonial administration.

## **6. 5. Stage Theatre to Television Drama**

For the purpose of this study, television drama is more relevant than radio drama. Even though television is more expensive and it requires electricity to operate, most drama groups resolve to television for reaching out to their audience. As such, many Hausa drama shows feature in almost all television stations in states in northern Nigeria. A prominent drama series in the 1960s was *Zaman Duniya Iyawa Ne* (Living Requires Wisdom), produced by Yusuf Ladan. One of the popular actors in *Zaman Duniya Iyawa Ne* is Usman Baba Fategi. Fategi became autonomous and established his show series called *Samanja Mazan Fama* (Sergeant-major the Struggler) in 1973 which appeared on National Television Authority, Kaduna. The drama centres on the character plays by Fategi himself and demonstrates varieties of circumstances around the military barracks. Fategi's use of language in the drama alone is drama because he imitates a typical recruit or ordinary Nigerian as he or she talks, code mixing English

and Hausa. Fategi himself was a soldier in the Nigerian Army during the civil war (1967-1970), so he used that experience in forming the character of *Samanja* (Furnish 1996).

Television continued to be one of the most influential channels for the dissemination of information for the few that could afford it until the 1970s and the 1980s that witnessed enhanced economic and social development: more people particularly civil workers could afford to own television sets in the 70s. This was possible relatively due to the oil boom and its subsequent dividend: a bonus to civil workers called Odoji<sup>8</sup>. In the 80s, more states were carved out hence more television stations were established. To foster and maintain this goodwill by the federal government, more local programs were added for viewing.

With television sets easily available, coupled with the establishment of more television stations by the federal and some state governments, Hausa media became more available on a daily basis and drama shows became prominent programs by making a transition to the screen. Among such programs were *Karambana* and *Kasagi*. While Kasimu Yero handled *Karambana* by preparing the story outlines of each episode and directing the production for television recording, Umaru Danjuma Katsina managed *Kasagi* by preparing the story outlines of the episodes and assisting in its directing. Both Yero and Katsina were the lead characters in each of their respective programs. *Kasagi* and *Karambana* provide insight into part of what this study is attempting to uncover. While *Kasagi*, on the one hand, contains a further component part that is typical of much theatre – the exposition of particular social policy issues that require dissemination by the government (Furniss 1996), typical of government programs that are transformed into video films by Kannywood filmmakers, *Karambana*, on the other hand, depicts a case of cultural transformation as outlined by Koforowola and Lateef:

*Karambana* could be likened to the court jester in the traditional social setting transported into modern social setting. He behaves in all sorts of manner, satirising men of various status in the society in order to purge them of their

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<sup>8</sup> Udoji is the family name of Jerome Oputa Udoji. He was the chairman of a panel on Public Service Organisation, Management and Remuneration, which General Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria's Military Head of State between 1967 and 1975 constituted. Gowon implemented the salary aspect of the report by giving civil workers bonus that was labelled as Udoji Award or just simply Udoji.

moral laxity, anti-social practices, misuse and abuse of offices or privileges (1987:172).

In Sokoto, another television drama series known as *Idon Matambayi* (Eye of the Inquirer) features Bello Abubakar and Muhammad Dan'iya as producers. The theme of the drama series focuses on traditional customs and the confrontation between the old and the new. The natives see the emergence and arrival of representatives of modernity from the city such as soldiers and census officials, as well as travelling embodiments of traditional culture: singers, boxers, wrestlers and entertainers of the rural and urban Hausa world. This signifies that, as Furniss maintains “television dramas can have a considerable link to other oral performances in Hausa in addition to new themes relating to issues such as the negative effects of sending female children hawking on streets, rumour circulation, the importance of secular education for male and female children” (Furniss 1996:85).

## **6. 6. Theatre and Film Production**

Theatre has considerably contributed to the development of Kanywood video films. When the challenges and calls for indigenous Nigerian films became louder, theatre and drama traditions already existed, actors and actresses, the audiences were available as well. The establishment of the Nigerian video film industry in the south of Nigeria that is later on labelled as Nollywood in addition to the films of some earlier talented filmmakers such as Adamu Hallilu and Sadik Abubakar Balewa with their films *Shehu Umar* (1976) and *Kasarmu Ce* (1991) respectively motivated film production in northern Nigeria in one way or the other. These films served as a challenge in the north whereby some producers, cameramen and artists working with national and state television stations teamed up to display their talents and in a short time, Hausa films begin to appear in markets for sale. Already, Indian and Chinese films were on the program of cinemas (before they were shut down in 2000 in some states in northern Nigeria) which had made an impact by catching the minds of thousands of viewers. Drama groups had produced actors, whose performances did not only succeed in getting available viewers, but they also served as a motivation for

establishing individual film production companies.

A significant milestone in the evolution of modern Hausa drama was reached in 1982 with the staging and subsequent publication of Umar Balarabe Ahmed's play, *Amina* (1983). The play focuses on the famous warrior and queen of Zazzau (Zaria), who reigned in the fifteenth century. *Amina* (1983) becomes the first play written in verse in Hausa according to Ahmed (2000:64). It is worthy to mention that some of the written drama books shifted to the screen through conversion into video as feature films. Ahmed's *Amina* (1983) underwent a process of metamorphosis from print to stage. Another example of this kind of metamorphosis is Abubakar Tafawa Balewa's *Shehu Umar* (1971), a prose, which shifted to a dramatized version with the same title *Shehu Umar* (1974) by Umaru Ladan and Dexter Lyndersay and finally to a film also titled *Shehu Umar* (1976), directed by Adamu Halilu. The most striking development was the film *Ruwan Bagaja* (1998), which shifted from orality to literacy and on to electronic processing. As the aforementioned examples show, transformations involved orality and literacy, I uphold the argument of Walter J. Ong (1982:15) that "literacy is absolutely necessary for the development not only of science but also of history, philosophy, explicative understanding of literature and of any art, and indeed for the explanation of language (including oral speech) itself". Therefore, oral culture produces the print culture and the subsequent electronic culture which builds on orality and its transformation as per the subject of this research.

## 6. 7. Conclusion

Modification is manifest in Hausa theatre that makes an impact as a source of electronic media, especially the video film industry. As the case was, theatre events in indigenous Hausa and African settings in general were meant to be watched by the entire community or by a general public, and the venue was usually an open space. However, an influence of Western culture is manifest. On one hand, theatre has shifted from the indigenous open spaces to modern stages such as the theatre halls, for instance the Multi-purpose Hall and Theatre Hall in Bauchi, which are used as venues for performances. On the other hand, Hausa actors and actresses in drama groups

gradually have realized that they can make a video coverage of their performances and thus preserve it for a later viewing. This realization has led to the transportation of Hausa drama and the subsequent rise of Kanywood industry that produces Kanywood video film which is now a popular means of entertainment in both Hausa urban and rural areas of northern Nigeria and other African countries. Not only is the source (theatre) involved in the transformation, but also the medium of communication, the Hausa language - the language of the video films. The new medium is witnessed by urbanism to suggest a shift from the simple enactments of the earlier Hausa theatre which depicted Hausa traditionalism to modern hybrid that shows the impact of technology. Moreover, the dialogues move from monolingualism to ones characterized by code switching from Hausa to English to reflect the characters' acquired knowledge of urban *Engausa*<sup>9</sup> More so, the indigenous theatre does not only transform into television shows, but the contents also depict radical changes. Thus, a selection of a corpus is necessary in order to investigate the different changes hence, chapter seven is aimed at the analysis of Kanywood video films, which formed the corpus.

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<sup>9</sup> *Engausa* is an acronym coined from ENGLISH and hAUSA. It refers to the verbal speech that consists both English and Hausa words due to either code switching or code mixing or both. It could be regarded as a hybridized Hausa often spoken by urban dwellers.

## Chapter Seven: Analysis of Selected Video Films

In chapter six, I discussed the channels of transformations of Hausa performances. I have shown that the performances are transformed through the drama motifs and then leaped to the film medium. In this chapter, I analyze six selected video films. The aim of this analysis is to explore the nature of cultural changes that are encountered in the selected video films, as they move from one medium to another, especially when orality is reenacted in the electronic media.

### 7. 1. The Selected Video Films and Analysis

Film analysis is primarily about making claims on the film's meaning using proof from the film. It entails how a film is put together and how the narrative is constructed (Ryan & Lenos 2012:28). Therefore, this research analyses the selected video films by looking at their structure, aesthetics and semantics. The video films integrate adaptations of folktales and reenactments of performance events. However, the folktales and performances depicted on screen might show some differences from the original one that the screen narrative is about. As Gehrmann (2005:158) explains, each form of orature that is transformed (in her case into a written form) loses the particular character of the oral performance situation.

#### 7. 1. 1. Folktale Video Film: *Ruwan Bagaja* (Water for Cure)

##### 7. 1. 1. 1. Content of *Ruwan Bagaja*

The video film *Ruwan Bagaja*<sup>10</sup> is about a polygamous man whose two wives, Hama, played by Maryam Tahir, and Larai, played by Yahanasu Sani, do not enjoy equal treatment. He loves Larai more than Hama and the love extends to her daughter. The extreme dislike towards Hama extends to her daughter as well. While Hama does domestic work and takes the role of a maid at the detriment of her marriage, her co-wife Larai does no domestic work, but functions as the mistress of the house. Each of

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<sup>10</sup> Although the video film *Ruwan Bagaja* (1998) bears the same title with Abubakar Imam's fiction novel also *Ruwan Bagaja* (1939), in this dissertation consideration is only on the video film, not Imam's novel of the same title, even though the two are primarily true to folktale as their sources.



them fulfills a function and role which are the fundamental components of the underlying folktale. Therefore, the function and role of each character is presented in terms of their significance for the plotline's course of action. Both Hama and Larai, the two principal characters and their acts are seen in relation to each other and to the video film as a whole, thus expressing the importance of their functions to the general development of the plot. A family row erupts to bring about tension in the video film after Larai's daughter, played by Sadiya Mohammed, bed-wets while sleeping at night. In the morning, Hama's daughter, rather than the culprit, is accused of bed-wetting. Therefore, she is ordered to go and wash the *kirgi* (tanned cowhide used as bed sheet) in river *Bagaja* which is very far and difficult to reach. She obeys the order and goes out in search of *ruwan bagaja* (water for cure). During the search, she encounters many situations that are horrifying, yet she endures and continues her ordeal. When she comes to a river, she sings with humble and soft words along with thrilling rhythms to inquire if that is river *bagaja*. After intensive search, she finds it, washes the bed sheets, and obeys the instructions given to her. Eventually, she finds miraculous favor and returns home in triumphant entry: on horse with escorts, drumming and musical beats befitting a princess. Having seen Hama and her daughter in this honor, Larai instructs her daughter to bed-wet in order to repeat the cycle. But as she has been pampered by their parents, hence she has a rude character. Consequently, when she goes to the river to wash the bed sheets she is impolite. As a result, she comes back home on a donkey along with lepers as escorts and together with her mother they continue to live in poverty for the rest of their lives.

### **7. 1. 1. 2. Folktale across Different Media**

While I consider what Sherman refers to as the folkloric films (2007:2), I also take the concept of performance into account that suggests an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication, framed in a special way and put on display for an audience (Bauman 1992:41). Invariably, Bauman's approach suggests shifting of action from one medium to another and in the case of this study, from arena to screen. Oral performance in public and performance on screen basically involve linguistic signs involving facial expressions such as eye contact, blinking, raised eyebrows,

widened eyes and gaping mouth, squeezed eyebrows and display of teeth. However, performance on screen is different from performance in the arena because it involves audio-visual and fixed images are created through the use of the camera, whose main function is to capture and represent the actions in performance in arena in a different medium, namely video film. The second point of departure is from the two processes of communication. The participants that are involved in the process of communication in the oral performance in the arena consist of the performers and audience. But those who are involved in the performance on screen are the characters and viewers, whereas the direct exchange between oral performer and public is crucial for any oral performance event. The product of the work of the filmmakers and characters are processed in a video film for everyone to view. Evidently, as the case is there is a new element not only from the oral to the written, but from the oral to the technical audio-visual media as well. Folktale, for instance, that once emerged as authentic, is transformed through convergence of folktale and film. The concept of how folktale performance is keyed as an integral component is also affected. Traditionally, each community made use of a structured set of distinctive special formulas that would be understood as folktale within that community (Bauman, 1992:45). Bauman is supported by Ahmad (1997:18) in this respect as he enumerates how in Hausa, a folktale starts and ends. This traditional pattern key among narrator and audience constitutes a breach of a generic conventional order and injects a change in the video film. For the director, that infringement of order will not deter the flow of the story, as the most essential is the content of the story. Therefore, it becomes clear that transportation of performance from one medium to another, as Joubert (2004:94) explains, involves the interplay of information among different media of mixed sign systems. In the same vein, if performance based video films are considered as reinterpretation and rendition of the world around the filmmakers, then it is evident that the performances in video films must be rendered erratic, as no two performances are ever exactly the same. Similarly, Krings (2010:80) in his study of localization of Nigerian video films in Tanzania posits that each medium has its own intrinsic qualities. What are some of the likely changes when one genre is passed through different media? This question leads to the issue of metamorphosis of performance,

which is the focus of this study

The folktale *Ruwan Bagaja* has fictional characters and settings. But when Iliyasu Abdulmumini decides to film *Ruwan Bagaja*, fictional characters and locations such as Hama, Larai, the house and the river respectively become visually mimetic of real-life names and locations. Even though it is not a documentary, it is highly mimetic of reality, while it is not reality as such.

The shift from the folktale *Ruwan Bagaja* to video film is noticeable. Shift is pervasive in the enumeration of traditional features in the video film, synonymous to what Blackford (2007:76) considers the dynamic, modern storytelling of popular film. In this sense, technology threatens the authority of the storyteller and brings about her obsolescence. The traditional Hausa old woman and *amarya* (bride) involved in folktale as narrators do not reclaim their status in the video film. They do not survive as storytellers, or keepers of memory, and those who express morality for children in the present. Evidently, not only the content of the folktale is affected, but also, there is a change in the way of accessing it. The storyteller in folktale is not only in direct contact with his or her audience, but s/he is also able to adjust his or her delivery to the audience's reactions spontaneously. The dialogue takes place between the storyteller and the audience who normally stand or sit around the performer. As Wynchank (1994:13) suggests, "the audience strongly react, respond to questions, join in refrains, in brief, they participate in the recounting. On the contrary, a film is made once, and for all types of audience, and can be viewed by anyone at any moment. Obviously, dialogue does not take place literally between them, for the filmmaker cannot adjust his or her narration to the changes of mood of his or her audience". It means that the video film changes the pattern of its use from a group of children venue for listening time in the terrace with an old woman or bride to a family to the viewing situation in front of a television that can be communal or individual. By inference, now the viewer is confined to the video medium with its constant flow of images. On one hand, the viewer of the video film has an advantage from the opportunity to see images of the characters and hear what they say as well, unlike in folktale performance where the issue of the imagination of the listeners is primarily essential. The audience listening to a storyteller recounting his or her tale can only make use of their imagination to see the

characters and actions. In contrast, according to Wynchank (1994:14), “films show images which give the illusion of reality, leaving very little to the imagination of the spectators [...] Images can kill the imagination”. Hence, the viewers lose some qualities of the folktale. By implication, the folktale suffers a loss because of the almost complete disappearance of the emotional color which comes from the narrator's gestures and mimicry, as well as the intonation of her own voice and her imitation of the voices of the characters. It is replaced by the actors' capabilities to display emotions. This study finds the video film coming of age to demonstrate the power of transformation for the folktale in order to tally with time. There is a shift from the traditional folkloric idea of magical transformation to the depiction of an appearance of real and physical object. For example, when Zainab and Sadiya break eggs on different occasions, viewers see different things coming to life from the eggs. The traditional feature of magical power in the folktale comes to the video film and coexists with the real and physical object and takes hybrid form which reflects local ambivalence towards globalization. Not only that, the folktale itself can be defined by its structure of journey and metamorphosis. The two protagonists, Zainab and Sadiya undergo significant transformations as a reward for perseverance and obedience as opposed to laziness and insolence.

While the performative approach to folktales has been concerned with the motifs of folktales (Peterson, 2007:94), in the video film, emphasis is put on the way narrative and performance conventions are modified to meet a specific demand. For example, at the same time when the narrative is going on, viewers hear sound in the form of music. The music as the case is does not only increase the intensity of the film immensely, but it also shows the technical means through which the audio and visual worlds come together in film. More often than not, the words in the music describe feelings and bring much more emotion on the screen than the dialogue alone. The use of sound has changed over time to include the use of image in patterned ways. The folktale in video film is thus made possible by the capacity of the local film industries to appropriate local images, transform them, and circulate them across ever-wider routes of distribution compared to folktale as oral performance.

Set in a rural area, *Ruwan Bagaja* commences with an on-screen image of a

typical traditional compound. The compound has two identical mud huts and it is inhabited by one family. The compound as a space is only imagined by the listener of the folktale, now it is made publicly visible. In this case, as Adamu (2010:67) suggests, the secret of the Muslim Hausa female conjugal domain is uncovered or it is not kept away from exposure by the filmmaker. A point of shift from folktale to video film is encountered from the director's choice of names for the two principal rivals in the video film. The video film shows a departure from the traditional use of the names Mowa and Bora. On the contrary, the names Hama and Larai are used, but without any special significance. But the names Mowa and Bora on the one hand have peculiar importance in the folktale as they signify the level of love, care and concern each wife gets from their polygamous husband. While Mowa has the affection of their husband, Bora is treated by their husband with disaffection. Although the compound depicts a traditional set-up, the video film showcases a radical departure from the traditional extended family to depict a more contemporary family of three, comprising a man and his two wives. Even though the man is a polygamist, throughout the video film, the family increases to only five members when each of the two wives delivers a baby girl. In respect of thematic emphasis, the video film explores polygamy in a traditional Hausa setting. It focuses on the unbalanced love a wife that is not a favorite of her husband experiences from him and the type of slanderous allegations she encounters from her co-wife. Viewers see Hama actively involved in preparing food, as is expected, for her husband to eat on arrival from hard work on the farm. But she encounters disappointment; as her husband returns, he goes straight to Larai and the camera captures them sitting down discussing amicably. To make things worse for Hama, her rival Larai makes false allegations against her. While there is emphasis on the representation of *kishi* (envy, jealousy) in this scene, my focus is on the manifestation of shift from the traditional norm of behavior. In the traditional environment, a wife does not express her feelings freely to her husband. Larai does not only report Hama to their husband, but she also does that while sitting very close to him without the traditional norm of *kunya*. Her use of language is a shift from what Newman and Gimba (1998: IV) explain about the expressive function of language. According to them, expression should go in agreement with the social and linguistic

conventions of the culture. However, Larai seems to tell the viewers that it is high time they departed from the conservative norm that makes them die in silence under the cover of *kunya* (shame). She does not only draw their attention to the modern way in which spouses come very close to each other, but she also depicts that the closest is always the dearest, hence she is the *mowa*. Although their family is portrayed as a divided one, one part of the family cares for each other (Larai has the concern of her husband). This spirit of care is juxtaposed with the non-affectionate condition in which Hama finds her relationship with her husband. The way Larai and her husband are foregrounded in the video film's composition informs the viewer of the type of relationship that exists between husband and wife in modernized and globalized societies and it is beginning to have relevance in a society enshrined by traditional norms. By implication, this situation is more valuable as Larai and her husband are placed at the centre of the frame, while Hama is placed in the lower part of the screen. This kind of arrangement which the director employs agrees with what Ryan and Lenos (2012:38) say about what a film is consist of. According to them, "filmmakers usually assign greater importance or value to characters who are centred within the frame or who are located in the upper half of the image".

*Ruwan Bagaja* does not only depict the character's rise from stagnation to stardom and vice versa, but it also depicts a change in its source. In addition to the video film's source, which is folktale performance, the director incorporates yet another live musical performance involving boys and girls at night in an arena. It is a diversification and change employed by the director to explore more varieties. At that moment, he employs a pleasant or amusing activity that takes the attention of viewers away from the tension in the polygamous family by incorporating entertainment (dancing) in addition to the perspective of morality in the folktale. While the girls sing and dance, the boys admire them thus suggesting to viewers a shift from traditional to popular culture. However, viewers do not see the musicians. They only hear non-synchronous music by means of automatic dialogue replacement (ADR). Its incorporation signifies that folktale in video film like *Ruwan Bagaja* constitutes a modern genre based on appropriation of global musical genre. The music does not only urge the dancers (the girls) to keep on rejoicing, but it also persuades them to

dance in a village square, as the chorus says, '*yan mata mu dīnga murna da rawa a dandali* (girls, let us keep on rejoicing and dancing at the arena). This development does not only represent a cultural change, but it also shows a peaceful protest by the girls, who want to get involved in open social activities even at the height of restrictions based on ideological differences.

*Ruwan Bagaja* as a video film has made an effect on viewers because it serves as a means of recalling the old tradition. Viewers recall and see the past in a new medium. However, the new medium allows them access to the past when they want, compared to the time when they get access to folktales only at the discretion of the storyteller. The new medium simplifies a combination of genres and allows their movements without necessarily requiring viewers to form mental pictures. For example, the film's director moves away from narration to undergo a particular performance genre, involving the protagonist in a characteristic manner thus:

Ko kai ne ruwan bagaja

Ko ba kai ba ruwan bagaja

Domin kirgi aka aiko ni

In zo in wanke a ruwan bagaja (*Ruwan Bagaja* 00:58:56 minutes)

Are you river *bagaja*

Or you are not river *bagaja*

For the sake of bed sheets, I was sent

To come and wash in river *bagaja* (*Ruwan Bagaja* 00:58:56 minutes)

The above song as a performance is embedded in the video film's plot. Although it is a side issue and not a main issue in the video film it has significance in the video film and in this dissertation in particular. It helps in accomplishing one of the messages in the video films, especially the moralistic aspect: obeying the required instruction. Secondly, it helps in realizing one of the functions of song in video films. It creates a specific emotion in relation to the situation which Zainab depicts on screen. Her mood while singing the song expresses her feelings of desperation to get out of depression, making the song to participate in human emotions, particularly sadness. It manifests a distinction between her and the audience. The director employs an interplay and

overlap of narrative and performative forms thereby exhibiting aesthetics of narrative performance. Zainab the actress adjusts the quality and energy of her gesture, voice and action to communicate her shifting desires and her performance is keyed to the narrative which provides musical score for the film's rising and falling action. The energy and quality of her movements and vocal expressions are equally important. Her performance which viewers see (compared to when they only hear it transmitted through the storyteller) contributes to the mood or feeling conveyed by the director, thereby corresponding to the Hausa proverb, *gani ya kori ji* (seeing is believing) which is a major aspect of change in the new medium that this study is discussing. The video film in this sense of change involves a narrative shift from ordinary speaking into performance that involves use of gestures and rhythmical language, as well as the use of instrumental accompaniment, interspersing prose with songs. While viewers hear the song on screen, the incorporation of musical instruments is off screen. Apart from emphasis on shift from narration to performance, there is also emphasis on metamorphosis in the video film's characters. Zainab and her mother take a new role. They cease to be what they were: rejected daughter and mother. Now they act in a more dignified status compared to princess and queen. In a way their situations serve to conform to folktale characters fulfilling roles, in their case the roles of heroine. Taking a new role qualifies them to find honor and respect where they were least expected. They continue to live in peace and in wealth. This marks the beginning of a turning point in their lives. What suggests an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication to explore metamorphosis for the audience is the dramatic twist. In the beginning Hama and Zainab, her daughter, are doomed to outright poverty with no hope of a brighter future. In line with the happy ending of the folktale, but expanded through more showing pictures (instead of the condensed telling by the oral performer) they turn out to be in control of wealth, courtesy of the things the girl brings back home from her travels in search of *ruwan bagaja*.

The video film is marked by a change in equilibrium compared to the folktale. It moves towards the direction of recapturing the feelings of viewers more than in the folktale. Although there is binary construction already present in the folktale, rather, in the video film it is expanded, amplified and strengthened. The director emphasizes



more on binary contradiction by affording the viewers to see actions and their consequences, such as pursuit and rescue, struggle and victory between Hama and Larai on one hand and between their daughters on the other hand. Consequently, they see a distribution of characters and their behavior into two mutually exclusive categories: Sadiya as a rude character is discourteous or impolite. She displays behavior completely opposite of her sister's. The director in this scene employs free-floating physical gestures in the role Sadiya plays to portray her as a rude character. He amplifies her vocal expressions to speak loud whenever she requests to break an egg as instructed. This development helps to convey her arrogant thoughts and emotions to the audience thereby creating a mood and depicting a shift from the traditional norm of *ladabi da biyayya* (respect and obedience), behavior expected of any child. To make sure the audience gets the message, he further uses a close-up shot to show her coming back home on a donkey along with lepers as escorts in addition to setting the camera to follow her with her entourage for a long distance walk, as she and her mother continue to live in poverty for the rest of their lives. The video film is thus marked by a reversal of roles in which it presents Larai and her daughter as false heroines. This concurs with the underlying morality of the folktale, but is depicted in more detail in the film through an amplification of the plot. It would be right to say that Abdulmumini's *Ruwan Bagaja* is an example of a typical heroic narrative. It tells a story of an individual who overcomes a threat in her life in a household, which she does not only live in, but belongs to as a bona fide heir. In the course of this, viewers see Zainab (Hama's daughter) as she embraces the spirit of cultural norms, which they too partake in. At the same time, they see Sadiya (Larai's daughter), the villain, breaking cultural norms by violating one particular basic cultural rule such as respect, and predictably, at the end, she descends while the heroic abider of cultural norms triumphs. The filmmaker adopts the genre of the folktale and transforms it into a full-fledged film through media appropriation. He still proves the same moralistic stance as the folktale does.

Constructively, the narratives in *Ruwan Bagaja* involve progressive movement from a negative to a positive condition for the heroine (and decline for the villain). The protagonist emerges from a state of weakness to various situations of transformation,

rebirth, strength and freedom, as she rises from a condition of impasse to that of accolade. She is accused of bed-wetting, and during the course of the plotlines she gets instructions on how to get *ruwan bagaja* to wash the bed sheet and how not to make a mistake in getting it. The success in achieving this task is a feature of a character transformation, a passage from incapability to ability.

Abdulmumini's *Ruwan Bagaja* is thus a transformation of folktale performance, which is presented from the perspective of traditional tale after supper. As it is the practice, children request an old woman or bride to tell them stories during an evening of relaxation, in which the woman or bride takes the role of narrator and tells the story. However, the video film departs from this technique by not maintaining a single narrator. Rather, all the characters partake in the narratives repeatedly. This study considers that the departure and the new narrative employed have to do with the change in medium and the director's aim of reinforcing the basic norms of culture and struggle. For example, viewers easily realize the repetition of camera, and the repetition in movements of setting up a journey in search of *ruwan bagaja* and coming back home by both Hama and Larai's daughters, to suggest an act that is not only basic, but continuous in human endeavors. Such are events people perform to themselves that evoke not only harmonious but also collective responses according to a familiar world-view. Their aesthetic standards are now interpreted in terms of a new frame of reference. The new medium does not only explore maximum interpretation, but also manifests the significance and use of some symbolic elements and their impact on society and culture. The culture of one man marrying more than one wife is not only a case of polygamy, but it also discusses the kind of changes encountered between husband and wives in matrimonial homes. Although it is not mentioned in the video film, yet it gives the impression that such biased treatment nowadays extends between the offspring of the wives, as it is noticeable in contemporary situations with regard to the minimal cordial relationship between '*yan uba* (step brothers) in the society. In comparison to this, the video film shifts to the issue of child upbringing and the culture of patience, especially for a woman whose husband does not regard her with favor. Therefore, as a reward for obedience, Zainab survives the obstacles in her travail at *ruwan bagaja* and she is made to have a change as seen on screen.

Furthermore, going beyond the images on screen, there is the change in the concept of water as a symbol in the video film. Neatness in the context of the film is not only a process of removing dirt or urine from the *kirgi* (bed sheet) as in the folktale. While the folktale emphasizes neatness of only the outer part of man, the video film showcases change to include also the purification of the heart: the inner part of man. As the young girls (Zainab and Sadiya) go to get water, it implies that water does not only clear dirt, but it also takes it away to an unknown destination. In the course of getting water to be neat, the girls undergo series of difficult situations and challenges. In essence, they encounter many obstacles on the way. This situation indicates a new approach to life which suggests that for someone to be pure in heart he or she is bound to face temptations to make him or her remain impure. But when he or she shows perseverance, he or she will see reward, as Zainab comes back home changed and triumphant after a successful cleansing to depict a new concept that suggests cleanliness is next to godliness compared to bed-wetting, which has a stigma attached to it. It is considered a bad habit and in real life situation, particularly in Hausa society, if a child persists in doing it, he/she is ridiculed by his/her peer group using a song. However, the song is no longer a popular children song today. Therefore, this dissertation considers the present unpopularity of the song as a justification of cultural shift today. However, let me quote it in full length.

Amalala mai fitsarin kwance

Ya tsulla ya dadā tsulawa

Da ya tsula sai da ya kai Barno

A bed-wetter who urinates in bed

He urinates and urinates again

When he urinates, the urine flows to Borno

*Amalala 2010*<sup>11</sup> (A bed-wetter) directed by Umar Jalo exists to support my claim.

<sup>11</sup>. It is about a boy-Abubakar Suleiman (Dan'auta) who matures, but still persists in bed-wetting. As a result, Mansur Muhammad (Kwaram) refuses to allow his daughter to get married to him. For Muhammad, he cannot become a father-in-law to a bed-wetter whose urine can damage a mattress in six months. This problem affects Dan'auta, as he has no friends among his peer groups. His only companions are boys, who are much younger than him. As Dan'auta persists in bed-wetting, not only do his parents and Muhammad ridicule him, but also the entire boys of his community. The main reason of the ridicule is to make Dan'auta feel ashamed of bed-wetting, and perhaps as a result of shame, he will cease doing it. Rather than relying on "shame" as a traditional solution to medical problem, the video film shows that ridicule is not the ultimate solution, as Muhammad and Ari make efforts to get medical solutions.

In oral folktale performance, the audience does not see characters and their actions. They can only imagine the trends of events through repetition, eye contact, gesture and mime to ensure that they follow and comprehend the plot because folktale is abstract. So therefore, someone who hears only the folktale *Ruwan Bagaja* uses his or her own sense of imagination to create images in his/her mind, but someone who has trans-media experience by hearing the folktale and watching the video film may have cause to trace the video film's trajectory across different media and can notice a mark of metamorphosis. For example, the scene of *cinya da kare* (thigh and dog) in the folktale where the protagonist meets the Thigh and the Dog in a hut beside river *bagaja* before she washes the bed-sheet is cut off in the video film. On one hand, such a cut can reduce the flow of the content and as a result essential information may not be absorbed. On the other hand, there is the need to deal with situations in a more practical way and according to what is real or possible, from the filmmaker's perspective. In other words, the more realistic genre of the film shifts away from the magical elements which are inherent in the folktale genre - this counts for this particular film, other films may well use magical elements and create surreal (false) images through montage techniques. Therefore, the director cuts off actions which are imagined rather than visualized such as non-humans taking up the qualities and characteristics of humans like talking, despite the fact that the present era of technological advancement has made animation in video films possible. Stylistic hybridization draws the viewer's attention to distinguish between the real and imagined events. It prompts participation in the search for implicit or connotative meanings of the images represented. Notwithstanding, skipping the scene makes the video film more realistic.

In the context of this study, metamorphosis does not only concern the medial channels of transmission, but it also involves the methods of preservation and networking. *Ruwan bagaja* as a folktale undergoes a change from what is known as *adabin baka* in Hausa literature. Orality, folktale's main characteristic, has now witnessed a shift to electronic media comprising of not only sound, but a combination of sound and image. In the words of Anny Wynchank (1994:13), “an orality which is mechanically transmitted, deferred in time and space, where the new media find their

place”. And viewers see the correlation between the speech they hear from characters and their moving lips. Characters in the video film manifest attitudes in the positive and negative perspectives with considerable shift. For example, horse riding, drumming, music, escorts and perfume in the video film do not only maintain the traditional norm of royalty, but they also include the norm of obedience in an upper class in contemporary society. On the other hand, visually displayed negative elements such as leprosy, flies, insects and riding on donkey provide the impetus for a shift in attitudes to include not only the cultural stigma regarding rudeness and disobedience, but also the poverty struck social conditions that are looked at contemptuously and negatively in the society.

### **7. 1. 2. Analysis of *Sangaya* (2000) (*Sangaya*)**

#### **7. 1. 2. 1. Content of *Sangaya* (2000)**

The video film *Sangaya* is set in a palace. The plotline depicts Zubaina, played by Fati Mohammed, as the protagonist who encounters maltreatment from both the maids and the prince. She is subjected to constant domestic work, the type endowed to slaves. She lacks freedom even among fellow maids. Apparently, *Sangaya* shows Zubaina in ambivalent circumstances such as the state of hatred and love, commoner and nobility. These situations are uncovered and made visible, as she experiences a change of status that culminates in a turning point. To achieve this, she performs an act of trick through concealing her identity to the prince, thus enabling her to marry him, which metamorphoses her status, as she eventually attains royalty.

#### **7. 1. 2. 2. Elements of Metamorphosis of Status**

Viewers see the list of production crew moving on screen simultaneously with an off-screen soundtrack of flute and drums. As the soundtrack music subsides, a close up shot of a large grand decorated house (palace) appears. The house fades away for Goggo, a senior maid, who appears on screen treating a maid scornfully, even though the maid, who is the protagonist will later metamorphose and undergo a change from inhumane to humane condition. In accomplishing the perspective of change in status, the director sets the video film in a palace, where there is hierarchy, and uses close and

distant shots on both the interior and exterior of the settings. This enables the viewers to experience not only the tension of Tabawa and Zubaina's personal trauma, but it also enables the viewers to encounter with the liminal stage of Tabawa and Zubaina's personal life. Zubaina as a role character with her mother Tabawa have no iota of favor in the palace. As a mother and an elder, culture demands that Tabawa receives a good opinion of her character and ideas by the younger ones. The maids are not supposed to do things which she would not like or would consider wrong. On the contrary, the video film depicts a departure from an established cultural norm of respect and mutually supportive relationship. This kind of cultural change is realized when a fellow maid accuses Tabawa of stealing sorghum flour meant to prepare pap for the king. In a close up shot, the camera captures the accuser's face as she speaks. It disgusts and dehumanizes the character of an innocent old woman, as the matter does not end as mere speculation and accusation. It includes abuses, scolding and all sorts of maltreatment besides the subsequent strong stigma attached to theft. The director amplifies the sound above normal dialogue and viewers hear loud speech, thereby evoking into the minds of viewers the kind of mood: extreme anger and contempt from the character. This development indicates that the story suffers an immeasurable change due to the almost complete disappearance of the emotional color which comes from the storyteller's gesture and mimicry, as well as the intonation of her voice and the imitation of the voices of the characters. In place of a song by the storyteller, viewers hear an interlude of soundtrack music and a sudden appearance of a woman believed to be *aljana* (spirit) in what is called character transformation. This is a filmic device in which Dankano changes into a spirit in order to show an act of transformation. Her role in the video film does not only communicate to the audience the existence of spirits as evident in *bori* cult, but also shows the role of manipulation for cultural change. In the traditional belief, spirits are only felt. The video film showcases a change in this kind of belief. It is often said that to see is to believe, as such viewers' conception about spirits is reinforced. More so, Zubaina's problems are solved as a result of her encounters with the spirit. Therefore, it is possible that the video film postulates change in people's concept and allegiance to the sorcerers and herbalists. Practically, these days, a lot of people go to the shrines to engage the

services of sorcerers and herbalists for whatever they intend to do. The video film fashions people's attitudes to achievements. Ironically, the society upholds and proclaims religion whereby people go to churches and mosques to observe religious rites on one hand, and on the other hand, the same people indulge in acts contrary to religion by consulting sorcerers and herbalists.

### **7. 1. 2. 3. Transition from Abstract Images to Physical Events**

Characteristically, orature is not only involved in repetition, but it also often involves digression by the narrator to develop a point before coming back to the original narration. Comparatively, the video film presents a non-digressive and complete narration. This development enhances viewing and makes it more attractive compared to orature. The device is more valuable for disclosing the background of the characters or events that do not only influence the plot, but they also seem to be extraneous diversions from the plot. It is through the device of non-digressive narration as requested by the spirit that Tabawa's background and social status are uncovered as the audience comes to know that both she and her daughter are undergoing a traumatizing situation. In a close up shot, Tabawa is seen gasping for breath. And when she says to Zubaina, "Tell the woman that I am no more and I adjure you to hold on to her" (*Sangaya* 00:07:16 minutes), she is about to die. Naturally, for any living creature there are two opposing moments of life and death. Each point in time has a peculiar cultural value associated with it. At the time someone is born, which marks the beginning of life, by tradition it is a moment of celebration. And death, which marks the end of life, is characterized by mourning. On the contrary, the video film depicts a departure from this cultural value, as the maidens assault Zubaina. It is not only un-cultural, but it is also inhuman to intimidate someone who grieves. Evidently, the video film shows that instead of condolence befitting a bereaved person as culture demands, the maids mock Zubaina. They do not show any concern for the death of her mother. To them, death has ceased to be fearful, therefore they do not show any sign of grief. This development is a misdemeanor, which insinuates moral decadence in the society to suggest that death is losing its characteristics of being fearsome. Nowadays during mourning, people are seen discussing politics, sports and

they are also laughing at the top of their voices to indicate that death is no longer a new thing. It hits almost every family. To capture the manifestation of the change in cultural values as exemplified by the maids, the cameraman employs the long shot. Framed in this manner, he eschews the close up for long shot. This technique enables the viewers to see a close view of the nature of the shift expedient by the maids as they interact to deal with Zubaina to represent the distribution of the shift in the society.

A continuing aesthetic aspect of change from traditional to contemporary is seen through long, intercept frames of characters as employed by the cameraman. What the camera captures manifests what it is designed to do. Its main function is to make a latent image. After suitable processing and photography technique, the image is then transformed to a usable image and sequence of images. In this sense, it is clear that, the role of tradition in the context of change is not only well-known, but also a continuing phenomenon even before the emergence of video film in northern Nigeria. Furniss, according to Kaschula (2001:XIV), shows how Hausa oral poetry has been absorbed into contemporary popular culture in Nigeria, thereby entrenching or establishing the role of the poet as a socio-political commentator. This is one important area that depicts metamorphosis courtesy of technology. The metamorphosis within the tradition and how this allows to operate in a contemporary environment remains a primary focus for this analysis. Looking at *Sangaya*, it is clearly noticeable that the abstract nature of orality is overpowered by technology and has witnessed a shift through the application of the camera. As Nagib (2001:102) asserts, “African film in general should cease to be understood only for its inefficient economy and technical qualities”. Dasylyva (2001:182)) agrees with Nagib in this respect, as he explains that “in Nigeria and in fact Africa, both the context and text of oral literature have had to cope with the challenges of modernity and survival through a series of transformation over the years”. Ogaga Okuyade (2014:XXIX) further explains that oral adaptation in a written text has artistically widened the limit of our knowledge on the oral / written interface of African literature. Evidently, oral tradition has been a source of rhetorical device for African writers, as it helps to enhance the structural designs of the written text, the concept which Okuyade has described as “aesthetic metamorphosis or transformation”. Similarly, Anny Wynchank (1994:13) recounts how cinema has been



the transmitter of oral tradition, but in a much broader sense. Thus the camera does not only capture images, but the images are also framed in different forms such as quick, slow and tilted. Its expressions represent what the filmmaker wants to achieve. In the case of the video film under review, the director succeeds in representing an example of monarchic rule in traditional society. The arrival of the prince and his entourage disappears off screen and the king and the queen appear on screen. In a long shot, the camera captures the king and the queen in a heart to heart discussion to show a modern style of close dialogue compared to the traditional manner of dialogue far away in space, especially between couples in traditional Hausa/Fulani society. More importantly, the video film enumerates a departure from the traditional form of marriage known as *auren dangi*.<sup>7</sup> More often than not, this type of marriage causes problems between relatives. Normally, the couples are related by blood, and whenever there is a matrimonial problem between them, it proceeds to involve other relations in the wider family.

In general, repetition is more present in oral narrative than in films. However, repetition of events is a common structural strategy used in *Sangaya* video film as a variable element. As Ahmed (1997:67) asserts, “a skillful performer (in my case filmmaker) adds details, descriptions, songs and gestures whereas a less talented one includes little”. The filmmaker makes Zubaina to evolve, as she gradually changes and develops into a different person over a period of time. Having the proficiency to transform herself gives more information about her as the film's character and the events surrounding her, and thus allows the viewers to see her encountering a set of tasks or challenges. For example, as she goes to meet the spirit repeatedly, the spirit's transformation into human form to speak to her takes pre-eminence, as she uses a plural of majesty and honor to speak.

Ni ba mutum ba ce ba.

Ni baiwa ce ta Allah.

Don mu a boye muke. (*Sangaya* 00: 07:16 minutes)

I am not a human being.

I am a servant of God

Because we are hidden (*Sangaya* 00: 07:16 minutes)

The spirit uses the first person singular *ni* (I) twice and the first person plural *mu* (we) to introduce herself to Zubaina. The use of the first person plural by a speaker to refer to himself or herself as an individual, as used by the spirit signifies a change from human to super human. It is not unlikely that in contemporary speeches, the aristocrats use a similar speech act to lessen their powers over the masses and to curtail the use of veto powers, as freedom of speech and human rights are famous operative opium for the masses in the modern time. Therefore, the mix up of the pronouns means that the spirit is ordinary as she appears on screen. She is also authoritative as she asks Zubaina her problems and gives her instructions on what she has to do. The belief in communication between spirits and humans is discerned through her realistic and practical appearance by means of the manipulation of the camera. The video film is endowed with repetition due to the influence of oral transmission, which places stronger demands on comprehension. However, a change of role and a turning point are condensed through character transformation as a technique in film. For the video film to arrive at the message, Zubaina needs to change and evolve. A while ago, viewers saw her as a wretched child in sackcloth, but later she is somebody else: Azumi in brand new cloth. This development results into deception, one of the actions which Ryan and Lenos (2012:123) posit. In their words, the villain attempts to deceive his victim by using persuasion, magic, or deception. Evidently, Maina is deceived by Zubaina when he meets her on the way back home. She disguises herself to begin an untimely conversation of youthful friendship that matures into courtship. On a symbolic level, this represents the situation nowadays, especially when some intending couples do not show their real characters. More often than not, they claim to be what they are not regarding both material wealth and reputation. They may be wolves in the skin of sheep. They prove to be innocent, but when the going gets tough, they reveal their original colors and attitudes to life. This is similar to a characteristic of performance especially when a performer wears special costumes and disguises himself or herself, the audience is skeptical about his personality. In the same vein, Zubaina conceals her identity. She introduces herself as Azumi and Fulani by origin.

She is conscious of her change. But, Maina does not notice the transformation. To him, he is meeting a lady he has never met. Viewers see him staring at a lady from angle to angle and moving round her, as she stands still while an interlude of music plays. The music does not fade away when viewers hear what Maina says to the lady, “*Ni sunana Maina*” (as for me, my name is Maina) (*Sangaya* 00:33:06 minutes). He chooses to use the emphatic pronoun *ni* (I) to introduce himself to show his status as the prince, otherwise, he would have said *sunana Maina* (my name is Maina). The director is able to combine the soundtrack and the dialogue together without making viewers carried away. The viewers are supposed to hear ambient sounds like tweet or chirp of birds because the setting is a footpath in the forest, but there is no distraction, as the director is able to contain the problem. He conforms to selectivity and allows only the diegesis-relevant voices and sounds to be heard.

*Sangaya* can be said to revolve around shift when a sudden change from hatred to love emerges between Maina and Zubaina compared to the previous scene when viewers see Maina kicking Zubaina, the maid. The situation suggests that people are bound to experience changes in their lives. It means that no condition is permanent. The symbol of hatred has metamorphosed to the emblem of love. If the societies can persist in continuing positive cultural changes in this manner, then every place will be heaven on earth and every person can be a potential friend. Apparently, in a long shot, viewers see the couple walking in a slow motion while soundtrack music plays. They eventually sing facing each other. Maina dresses in blue trousers, white long sleeve shirt, blue waist coat and a black cap to match, and sings a four minutes song with Zubaina, who dresses in Fulani attire of sleeveless *riga* and *zane* (blouse and a piece of cloth tied round the waist by a woman). All these are physical objects used in the video film to confirm her identity, as opposed to the abstract images in the folktale. The on-screen song performance does not only increase viewers’ attention on the image, but it also changes their perception of conditions of life and reminds them that song and dance are totally integrated into and related to their daily existence. In rural areas particularly, song and dance continue to play an integral role in various domestic activities and social occasions.

Sabo pays attention to both action and narration in developing the plotlines of

*Sangaya*. He combines different events including those that cause tension, especially those who intrude by following only their inclinations. Sabo calls for a change and rethinking of the self-centered attitude. Rather than self-reliance and egoism, people should consider other people's feelings. Anything short of this may escalate into resistance and crisis, as Kilishi challenges the heroine's intrusion of Zubaina. Despite the conjuncture of events, Sabo is able to link the sequences. The video film can be said to be linear in structure. His style tallies with what Phillips (2005:270) asserts. According to him, most makers of narrative films arrange scenes chronologically. While some film analysts might look at this development as a filmmaker's shortfall in technical know-how for presenting a broad spectrum of scenes, this study considers Sabo's *Sangaya* as a video film in which there is a shift. It involves incorporating an old medium into a new one and making the two media converge to form a mass media, as Kaschula (2001:xii) says, "it pertains to our fast-changing society and scholars should guard against seeing it as inflexible". The aim might be to revisit some cultural motifs, define the sequences at which they operated and then undergo some changes. For example, the relationship between Maina and Zubaina, to Sabo, should not be considered as a relationship that involves only two people. Therefore, viewers see Maina urging his friend to see Azumi (Zubaina), the girl of his choice. When they meet, in a close up shot, the camera captures only Maina and Zubaina cutting off his friend, Nura. When the three of them appear on screen in a long shot, viewers see Nuru talking to Azumi on behalf of Maina although in Maina's presence. Being a prince, he does not need to talk too much as in real situations, sometimes king's subject talks on his behalf. Azumi agrees to marry Maina on one condition, which she demands to know from his friend. She asks him this question: Can he marry me in any condition he sees me? (*Sangaya* 00:45:57 minutes). The question seems difficult to Nuru therefore he keeps quiet, gets back and allows Maina to move closer to talk for himself. He moves closer to Azumi and in a close up shot, the camera captures only Maina and Azumi, cutting off Nura, his friend. Cutting off Nura is another aspect that is in the foreground regarding the issue of change in this study. There is a shift from hatred, an outrageous theme on which the video film starts. Apparently, the film announces its emotional tone. It does not only cut off Nura, but it goes on to show only

an actor and actress (the two protagonists) in a close-up shot to suggest the kind of switch in courtship comparable to traditional style in which Chamo (2012:60) states that “in the traditional practice, marriage is a serious matter of the family, but not of the couple”. In a related dimension, what brings a further point of departure from a traditional form of courtship and injects change is Zubaina’s failure to come along with her girlfriend or at least a young girl, whose presence serves as a check against any attempt that may tarnish the reputation of their families. The film links back to contemporary Hausa society. In contemporary courtship, there is less emphasis on escort as a boy and girl can meet without much interference. The society has realized the need for people to come together and interact. More importantly, when intending couples come together freely, they will understand each other. When they eventually marry, the marriage will last. It will result into what is now commonly known as *mutu ka raba*, a phrase that means till death do us part. Although the issue of *auri saki* (persisted divorce) compared to *mutu ka raba* is not an issue in the video film, it remains a social problem in the society. There are many divorcees, whose marriages could not last because they do not go through intimate courtship free from the traditional interference from parents.

Wato babban abin takaici shi ne kamar yadda mu Hausa-Fulani muke yakana da tsantsami wajen riko da addini, amma abin mamaki sai ki same mu mu ne kan gaba wajen yawaita auri-saki da tarin zaurawa da makamantansu. Wannan matsala ce babba. Ko me yake kawo irin wannan? (*Zaurawa* 00:51:46).

In fact, the major element of indignation is how we, the Hausa-Fulani, claim to uphold religious values, but unfortunately we are foremost in divorce, which results in many divorcees. This is a big problem and I wonder what could be the cause of the problem? (*Zaurawa* 00:51:46).

Evidently, *auri saki* (persisted divorce) and *zaurawa* (divorcees) are two aspects of life that are not only problematic, but they have not been overcome yet. Halima Atete, an actress agrees with Buhari as her response to him was: “*Gaskiya ne, kusan gida daidai ne babu zaurawa*” (It is true there is a divorcee in almost every family) (*Zaurawa*

00:51:52)<sup>12</sup>

Logically, this is what *Sangaya* discourages and then introduces a change. When Zubaina asks Nura concerning Maina, he does not only give an answer to the question, but he also moves away from them so that he does not intervene in their discussion nor hear Maina's response, which can be considered his personal affair. In addition, the director reiterates the change when he cuts off Nura from the discussion to signify that this is a welcome change. The traditional *auren dangi* in the society is experiencing a shift and *Sangaya* delves into this development. Although Maina and Kilishi marry as cousins, *Sangaya* video film does not give preference to this kind of marriage. Rather, it highlights a shift to a kind of marriage that is based on mutual understanding and not only based on family descent, lineage and pedigree. There is a shift from genealogy involving families (sometimes without the knowledge of their children) to mutuality involving each of two persons, a boy and a girl. To demonstrate the shift, the camera captures Zubaina receiving a ring from Maina. The ring does not only symbolize agreement to a relationship, but it also symbolizes commitment to a certain course by two persons, synonymous to the use of an engagement ring in contemporary marital relationships. Tradition encourages the idea of uniting a prince to a princess, a consideration of status especially amongst the aristocrats. Although Maina and Kilishi are united in marriage, the same *Sangaya* manifests a departure from this conservative idea and presents a change by showing Maina, the prince, marrying Zubaina, a maid.

*Sangaya* aims to present a bond that unites couples but the bond is not complete until intending couples seek the approval and blessing of parents. In some video films, from day one a boy meets a girl, viewers see on screen *bayan aure* (after wedding). But Sabo does not undermine the issue of involving parents in the institution of marriage. Rather, he places emphasis on it, as viewers see Zubaina's introduction to Maina's mother. Although Zubaina initially takes another form, as in performance thereby attracting Maina, now she has gone back to her original form. This

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<sup>12</sup> Al-amin Buhari and Halima Atete in a dialogue express their concern on the issue of divorce in the film *Zaurawa* (2013). The concern of Buhari and Atete is the representation of the concern of the government of Kano State when the government discovered that there are many broken homes due to divorce. To tackle this problem, the governor of Kano State, Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso gave financial assistance to divorcees that were willing to get married.

development is similar to the temporal aspect of performance in which performers are changed and later returned to their starting place. It is called transportation because of the change from one time or space reference to another. The technique of character transformation in films, which the film director employs leads to rejection. He transforms Zubaina back to herself, the wretched child Maina knows. His mother demands to know from Zubaina if she is the girl her son meets. Zubaina gives an affirmative response “I am the girl he meets and here is the ring he gives to me” (*Sangaya* 00:53:53 minutes). This answer follows with a detailed narration of how the romantic affair starts between her and Maina. However, Sabo departs from the type of narration which involves repetition. Rather, he uses flashback and this technique is another aspect of metamorphosis that this study considers. In folktale, the narrator takes all the roles in the storyline and acts in different manners, but typical of each character. The audience sees only the narrator. But in the video film, there is a massive shift regarding dual functions by the narrator. His role of narrator as actor(s) in which he has the monopoly is curtailed. There is a shift from activities by one man to activities by individuals. It can be right to say that the video film has given preference to the culture of division of labor in information dissemination in comparison with the tradition of monopoly of a narrator. Reference to events that happened before that are important for the storyline require the narrator to repeat it. This kind of narration especially narration within a narration is shifted in the video film whereby previous events of the actors are shown in a series of flashbacks, a technique which is not used by the traditional storyteller. While Wynchank (1994:17) shows that prolepsis (flash forward) and analepsis (flashback) are modern techniques unknown to traditional practitioners of orality, Phillips (2005:66) explains with respect to flashback that “viewers see a brief scene, or (rarely) a sequence that interrupts a film narrative to show earlier events”. It is a technique used by filmmakers in order to save time and energy. One example of flashback Sabo injects into the video film is a previous scene involving Maina and Zubaina. Rather than having Zubaina retell the event to the Queen, Sabo does the retelling through flashback. He does not only save Zubaina’s energy, but he also saves time for the next dialogue. However, saving time is not decisive, but the fact that, for film viewers, action is much more interesting than

lengthy dialogues. Immediately the flashback is cut off, viewers hear the Queen's remark of approval as she says, "It is the will of God for Maina and Zubaina to be a couple" (*Sangaya* 00:57:38 minutes). The Queen's approval and the film's emphasis on the marriage between Maina and Zubaina as well as between Maina and Kilishi reinforce *auren gata* and inject a sense of shift in status. It does not only depict the idea of moving from grass to grace, but it shows that the rich also cry. However, what is new is the degree of boldness and high level of sincerity by which Maina's mother (a Queen notwithstanding) tackles the situation in a society in which the concept of man-woman binarism is prominent. To borrow from Olusegun Adekoya's (2014:335) words, she comes from the society where the traditional gender hierarchy in which the male is the head and the female is his foot-mat. Her boldness is synonymous with taking the wrappings off the traditional *kunya* (shame) without necessarily considering the implications. Therefore, her decision (at the absence of her husband), as the video film shows, does not only showcase shift towards new trends and development, but it also indicates that a Hausa/Fulani woman is gradually coming of age, not in the sense of competing with men, but at least in participating in a crucial decision in the family. Indirectly, Maina's mother, on behalf of other women, strongly protests against the traditional practise of patriarchy in Hausa society. She exhibits a frankness and boldness which should serve as a demonstration for cultural change regarding women's rights. Since this metamorphosis does not happen in an empty space therefore, it becomes important for the filmmaker to react to the rising flexibility in his effort to record and reflect on the changing and challenging circumstance.

*Kishi* (rivalry) excels in Sabo's *Sangaya*, particularly between Zubaina and Kilishi. Even though in the beginning of the film Maina hates Zubaina, his hatred is not based on *kishi*. An example of a representation of a typical *kishi* is the attitudes of Kilishi towards Zubaina. A proverb in Hausa on *kishi* says, *kishi kumallon mata, in ya motsa sai ya fito*. It means that among women, rivalry is like a trigger and when it is pulled, it causes anger which leads to domestic crisis. To Kilishi, it is not the co-wife issue that is the most disturbing situation. To her, that is normal among Muslim Hausa. She knows that the society she belongs to is a polygamous society. Her family in particular is not an exception. Her agony is the rivalry from a servant who is now a



fellow co-wife. She and her servants confirm the above proverb, *kishi kumallon mata, in ya motsa sai ya fito*, by despising, castigating and ridiculing Zubaina verbally,

Kilishi: Tashi ki dāu tsintsiya ki share mini bayan dāki. Dube ta tana tafiya kugu a karkace. Yanzu fa sai wani namiji ya ce yana son ta ko?

Abokiya 1: Anya kuwa? Ai duk namijin da ya auri wannan ya yi asara kuma shi ya rako maza duniya

Abokiya 2: Ni kam ina namiji ka ba ni wannan da gida da dawakai bakwai, ba zan karbe ta ba, sai in ce a kai kasuwa (*Sangaya* 00:42:05 minutes).

#### Tanslation

Kilishi: Get up, go and clean my toilet. Look at her walking, her back is bend. As she is, is there a man who wants to marry her?

Friend 1: I doubt it. Any man who wants to marry this “thing” makes a big mistake and he is just an escort to men into the world.

Friend 2: As for me, if I was a man and you give me this “thing” to marry along with seven horses, I will not take the offer. I will say take it to the market to another bidder (*Sangaya* 00:42:05 minutes).

The director shifts from narration to song and action. He changes the dialogue to a 5 minutes 30 seconds contest of self-expression in a song and dance involving Maina, Kilishi, Zubaina (Ali Nuhu, Hauwa Ali Dodo, Fati Muhammad) and other female dancers as extras (*Sangaya* 01:05:02 minutes). The song plays a prominent narrative role in which the camera focuses on the whole characters, highlighting its oneness. While the song entertains viewers and calm down tension in them, it also answers the question of diegetic because the soundtrack music the viewers hear is constructed as issuing from the storylines. Viewers hear the source of conflict between Kilishi and Zubaina in the song. The song’s lyrics comment on the incidents in the film’s main narrative and announce the events that will come to pass. Each character continues to ridicule her rival's jealous attributes and then reintroduces the anticipated incident. On one hand, viewers hear Kilishi in an explicit and convincing voice stating her reasons why she feels Maina should marry her. She claims she is from a royal family like him. She is his first girlfriend and everyone knows they are engaged. On the other hand,

Zubaina sings and counteracts Kilishi's somewhat unworkable legacy of royal upbringing by expressing why she deserves to be Maina's wife. She states how she suddenly rises up out of something which has been immersed or sunk and appears in sight. But these are not enough reasons for a man to maintain one wife, as it is common among Muslim Hausa men to marry a second, third or fourth wife the moment they feel they attain a relatively higher social status. Therefore, the self-expression unfolds a departure from the traditional system of courtship and marriage. Traditionally, a girl does not need to blow her own trumpet in order to attract suitors. One girl can have many suitors. But gone are the days when girls were scarce commodities. The number of unmarried young girls and spinsters is increasing on a daily basis. And as culture is dynamic, it is not surprising to see women dating young boys and providing their needs. Both personal and parental status of a girl is a necessary advantage for securing her a husband to suggest that now there is little or no emphasis on true love. Rather, it is unconditional and based on materialism.

*Sangaya* remains a remarkable and commercially ostentatious Kanywood video film, as its soundtrack music still thrills viewers. Its success is due to the song and choreographic dance the director employs. In the words of Adamu (2007:56-57), "*Sangaya* [...] captured the imagination of Hausa urban audience. The music, and most especially the choreography, from the sound track catapulted the video into the charts of "big league" Kanywood video films, and one of the most successful Kanywood films of all time". Thus, the use of choreography in the video film does not only signify metamorphosis, but it also makes a significant breakthrough in Kanywood industry. It is the first video film to inject musical hybridity through the combination of both traditional and modern (musical) instruments. It is another aspect of shift that highlights the striking contrast between the application of songs in folktale and video film such as *Sangaya*.

Sabo's film *Sangaya* creates a significance for his viewers. The way of the world in the film is regenerative and can itself be considered a filmic extension of the African oral tradition anchored by narrator, who combines song, dance and narratives in order to entertain viewers and to reinforce their collective identity. Therefore, a close look at *Sangaya* might reveals not only filmic creativity, but also the

manifestation of metamorphosis in Hausa culture.

### **7. 1. 3. Ancient Practice Performance Video Film: *Borin Ibro* (2008)**

#### **7. 1. 3. 1. Content of *Borin Ibro***

The video film's discussion centers on electoral malpractice, exploring the particular incidence when the candidate who wins the election is not the candidate who is sworn-in. Even though politics is not the main subject matter of the video film, it is a representation of a critical approach to politics which is based on fraud. It shows that elections are not always free and fair and leadership is more of an appointment rather than a democratic election. Although it is not mentioned in the video film, the need to embrace an acceptable type of orientation and a system of principles, especially in the contemporary political administration, is made clear.

In what follows after this political shot, the video film focuses on spirit possession as already evident in *bori* cult. The director reiterates a belief in spirits on three different occasions, which I consider as the director's device to put emphasis on his subject of attention, repetition being a classical rhetorical device to do so. Viewers see Ibro and Daushe, the two protagonists, leaving their village for another city, *yawon ci rani* (migration for temporary work), in search of 'greener pastures'. In addition to the desire for a better future, Joseph McIntyre uses terms such as social breakdown, social collapse and radical change or social transformations to describe what necessitates migration. According to him, for the Hausa, the original breakdown starts in their homeland or native country. Evidently, Ibro and Daushe encounter obstacles such as hunger and thirst on the way. These obstacles come to an end when they meet an old man, played by Baba Ari, fetching water from a well in the first village in which they arrive. But they become worried and the viewers can see the anger and frustration in their facial expression when they ask for water to drink but the old man refuses to give any to them. They assume he is a spirit and their assumptions prepare the minds of the viewers to what the filmmaker wants to communicate. Hausa viewers are likely to see a representation of a common belief among some communities, namely that old people are associated with spirits. When Ibro and Daushe go farther, they meet a woman by a well again and ask her for water. At the beginning she refuses to talk and

that makes them to form a common consent on the people of the village about spirit possession. They emphasize their perception of the village along the villagers and on hearing their comment, the woman breaks her silence to emphasize their perception. Consequently, her statement does not only confirm the two protagonists' assumption, but it also motivates them to see the need to embark on *bori* in order to rid the village of spirits.

While some filmmakers present what the plotlines aim to represent at the beginning of their video films, Auwal Y. Abdullahi's *Borin Ibro* shows a departure from this technique by with-holding information. However, the technique gives viewers an advantage by affording them the chance to watch varieties of information. When the information that is withheld is revealed in a later scene, it becomes what Phillips (2005:271) refers to as "privileged placement". From the onset, viewers hear dialogues on politics. The discussions on politics, which the filmmaker employed in the video film is a device to make viewers see the kind of politics, which develops on malpractice, and if Nigeria needs to develop, at least politically, then Nigerians must collectively embrace a progressive change in their political thoughts. Beside this intruding start, the plot of the video film is marked by cases of shifts from the traditional to the modern in sequence. At the palace of the village head, while he sits on a bench, his courtiers sit on a mat to signify leader and subject relationship in traditional set-ups. However, the camera brings out a glaring juxtaposition about modern belief system and traditional belief system to suggest that this attitude may be a rational in uncovering that presently, the Hausa can go to *bori* cult for cures without necessarily being members of the cult or worshiping the spirits above Allah. In a close-up shot, viewers see Ari's right hand counting the beads in his rosary and as the camera moves slowly for a long shot, he is seen chanting incantations silently while an off-screen music is playing. Viewers see how the director brings the two belief systems together to emphasize the difference between them and to exemplify a shift from pre-Islamic to Islamic belief system. This development suggests the continuous changing pattern in Hausa societies in particular and Nigeria in general. Kofoworola and Lateef (1987:2) observe that ancient religious beliefs and practices could be identified in some aspects of such customs, but the modern Islamic believers (of course Christianity

too) will deride those contemptuously as superstitious beliefs and practices.

On the account of tradition, people express their agonies and Ibro and Daushe assume that the village head and his courtiers are bereaved by their facial expressions. They are silent and are looking moody as well. Contrary to their expectation, the princess is not dead, but suffering from *ciwon aljannu* (sickness caused by the spirit). The video film does not heighten the intensity of the characters' antagonism, but showcases their ambivalence, points of convergence and mixed feelings about spirit possession in contemporary time. On one hand, Ibro and Daushe are of the opinion that the villagers are spirits. On the other hand, the courtiers are suspecting Ibro and Daushe for the occurring misfortunes in the village since their arrival. They may not be spirits, but by implication, they can cause havoc and miseries in the society. In this development, the video film is marked by a shift from the traditional belief that only the spirits are associated with misfortunes. However, Ibro and Daushe are able to cure the princess through jokes and not by *bori* procession. Their action signifies the impact of humor. It does not only suggest a shift from believing that every sickness is caused by spirits, but it also indicates that it is not only by invoking spirits that a sick person can become cured. The video film implies that negligence can cause nervous tension, as seen from the princess when she is forsaken by her family. Ironically, the village head and his courtiers are happy about Ibro and Daushe's curative powers. They believe that the protagonists can cure, not necessarily by supernatural powers.

#### **7. 1. 3. 2. The Transformation of *bori* in the Film *Borin Ibro***

A reflection on *bori* performance will reveal the traditional pattern and involvement in the search for the solutions to curative problems and forms of disorderliness. Although this is what the video film represents, this study explores some changes that are encountered in the making. In this regard, the study considers that *Borin Ibro* as a video film is not only about entertainment, but it is also an avenue for promoting and preserving traditional elements in a new medium. The dance, sound tracks and demonstrations, which viewers witness in the video film, are often replicated initiation ceremonies in arena when a character is seeking for a particular favor from supernatural powers. The shift of action from arena to video film more

often than not is either an overstatement or a reduction of actions. In *Borin Ibro*, viewers do not only see the reduction of the traditional elements, but they also see only portrayals, which the film depicts through the characters and it can be described as a cinematic appropriation of *bori* cult. The film does not replenish *bori* again, but it echoes the past and explores outstanding prowess for controlling the supernatural in a new manner. In this regard, what used to be a performance involving audience during events like naming and wedding has become an event without live audience in the video film. It could be a result of the director's attempt to save costs. Neither does he engage the services of extras to act as audience nor resort to footage of crowds in a different event. As a result, the scene looks unnatural and depicts an example of transformation, which reduces the richness of the performance. Also, among the traditional instruments employed during *bori* performance like *garaya* (stringed plucked lute), *goge* (one stringed bowed lute) and *kwarya* (large gourd), only *buta* (small gourd-rattle) is employed in the video film, marking a shortage in the application of varieties of instrumental music. This development contributes to the decline of the required objective representation of *bori* as performance.

Furthermore, during *bori* performance, usually four categories of principal actors are present. There are musicians who supply music and display their skills, spectators who come purposely for entertainment, those who are possessed with spirits and require cure and those who perform the ritual curing. The presence of spectators signifies that though *bori* can be regarded as a cult, it is not performed in a secret place or shrine. The spectators are not only entertained by the musical performance, but also by those who are possessed with spirits when they are displaying their repertoires. In *Borin Ibro*, only two categories of people are seen: the curer and possessed person. While Ibro plays the role of curer, Ari plays the character of a possessed person. This development signifies that the performance in the video film is characterized by changes. This does not only concern the absence of spectators, but it is also associated with the non-availability of musicians that form part of the major participants at the event of *bori*.

*Borin Ibro* as a video film on *bori* performance has another remarkable change from the perspective of space. Considering performance space, as Schechner (1988:14)

explains, unlike office or home, performance space is used on an occasional rather than steady base. During performance, large parts of the day and often for days on end, spectators get pleasure from being entertained. Traditionally, whenever a performance starts, the space is utilized intensely, attracting large number of spectators who come for the scheduled event. In respect of preparation, the space is uniquely organized so that a large group of spectators can watch a small group and the event gives the feelings of ceremony and celebration that promote social solidarity. *Borin Ibro* is not only marked by the non-availability of a befitting space, it is characterized by lack of spectators at shooting. This is not unconnected to the issue of cultural change. Since culture is dynamic, the practice of *bori* is affected by the dynamism of culture. Therefore, *bori* is not only seen as extinct culture, but it is also not popular in the society now.

The act or display of curative powers is one important activity of ‘*yan bori* (bori adherents) and viewers see two representations of this activity in the video film *Borin Ibro*. In respect of acting, this is one key area where the camera is used to show the trends of events. The camera is directed by the cameraman, who is directed by the film director in a very conscious way. Therefore, viewers see that most of the actions are framed in close-up shots where they note moods of anger, fear, frustration, tension and determination. When Ibro is performing the ritual of curing on Ari, the person who is alleged to have been possessed with spirit is marked by jokes, less tension and determination compared to the traditional *bori* that was characterized with all the seriousness it deserved. During the process of curing, in a close-up shot viewers see Ari making fun of the situation by creating jokes as he struggles to get up, giving more emphasis on the entertainment aspect than the curative dimension. This development creates a setback in Ibro's determination to set Ari free from the spirits that possessed him. It is part of a major change in today's approach to *bori*. Not even the arrival of Dangwari from another village for curative aspect can recapture *bori* and saturate the place with it. Rather, his arrival explores the factor that influences the manner spirit possession is changed and announced.

Na zo neman lafiyana ne. Aljannu ne suna damuna. Muna da aljannu na gidanmu, na babanmu daya ne. To, sai an sami wani, amma an ce na yi wani

baƙon aljannu kuma baƙin aljannu ne. Shi ne na ji an ce mani idan na zo nan garin na yi tambaya, akwai wanda na yi aikin aljannu na bori. Shi ne nake so a yi mini taimako a cire mini wannan aljannu. (Borin Ibro 00:35:36 minutes).

I come for my health. The spirits are troubling me. We have the spirit of our family (deity). Our father has one spirit, but later there is an additional one. I was told I have a strange spirit and it is the wicked type. Therefore, I was directed to come to this village because someone is casting out spirits and I would like him to cast them out of me. (Borin Ibro 00:35:36 minutes).

Although there is music to invoke the spirits, Dangwari feigns an emotion. He pretends to have been possessed and he is not sure if to announce the arrival of the spirits to him or their departure from him. Uncertainty is a case of change that is influenced by lack of commitment, as Dangwari is only seen feigning the character that goes from the ordinary world to the performing world. His aspect of *bori* is not performed with great enthusiasm for a cultural heritage. Traditionally, he is to set about his task of battling the spirits with vigor, if not for cultural heritage, at least for his health. But he is seen doing things which he can do ordinarily without being fully transported. The work of the transported is to enter the performance, play his role, which is usually acting as the agent for larger forces, or possessed directly by them. Subsequently, viewers assume that no type of behavior exists separately from Dangwari. It means that *bori* is now characterized with less or no transmission, manipulation and transformation of behavior, while performers should exhibit some signs such as recovery, remembrance or even invent behavior. On one hand the video film as a medium transforms *bori* into a weak performance. On the other hand, the video film represents what is actually going on in the society about *bori*. Since it is becoming extinct, it has no longer a stronger medial capacity. Therefore, the distorted form becomes convincing in the film's plot. Evidently, the film could be used just as a reference material to *bori* because as the analysis indicates, the performance is in decline.



#### **7. 1. 4. Analysis of *Tashe* (2010)**

##### **7. 1. 4. 1. Content of *Tashe* (2010)**

The video film *Tashe* is about a classical Hausa performance tradition known as *tashe*. The film starts with a scene featuring Hauwa Garba, a performer who goes into a couple's room. However, she will not carry out the performance, as the couple drives her away because she enters the room without excuse. Like Hauwa, Daushe and Gatari, two other characters decide to organize *tashe*. They become motivated after watching *tashe* performance by Ali Nuhu and Adam A. Zango. Daushe and Gatari resolve to perform *Tashi Wali* (The Saint Will Fly). They plan for a rehearsal because it is important in performance, as freelance singers also rehearse. Besides rehearsal, Daushe and Gatari discuss the performance material they require such as costume, which is another prominent item in performance. During rehearsal, which includes additional performers such as Ari, Dan'auta and Tukur. Ari, an old man plays the role of *gwauro*. The scene gives a glimpse of the *tashe* known as *gwauro tashi gari ya waye* (get up it is dawn), which is performed to mock a bachelor. Garba S. K, who plays the role of the king comes across the performers and gives them some money. As justice is not done in sharing the money, disagreement becomes the preeminent characteristic of the group. Daushe who claims to be leader takes the biggest share of the money, which makes the group split into two and each group goes to perform *tashe*. However, the *tashe* turns out to be unpleasant, as three people report the bitter experiences they encounter from the two groups of the *tashe* performers.

##### **7. 1. 4. 2. *Tashe* and its Contemporary Transformations in the Video Film**

As an old tradition, the main aim of *tashe* is to amuse people in the month of Ramadan when Muslims observe fasting. Instead of depicting the traditional format, the video film turns out to show a unique and urbanized way of performance - some more recent shifts from the traditional. In contrast, the villagers around the performers of *tashe* are likely to be part of a closely knit community. On the contrary, in the cinema or viewing center as the case may be, the viewers sitting row by row, facing the screen, watching *tashe* video film, more often than not have no sense of belonging

to a group, as a viewer might not know the next person sitting beside him.

One major change takes place when performers perform beyond the limited period of *tashe*. This development uncovers the influence of popular culture and globalization on local culture. The narrative allows viewers to critically explore the traditional and the post-Islamic time. One way of analyzing *tashe* is to look at transformative forces at work through the point of view from which a video film is created and received. A film narrative can be understood from at least two perspectives. On the one hand: What is the particular way of thinking of the filmmaker when it comes to his perspective - how does he/she create situations in the film? On the other hand, the position from which viewers see actions in the film enables them to see the world in a specific manner and time. Regarding *Tashe*, from the viewpoint of viewers, at first glance the video film operates within the perspective of conventional performance that affords them to see a mimetic reproduction of a particular recreational performance. But from the perspective of the film's director, there is a change in the status quo involving culture and custom, which is visible in the film. Basically, the manner in which the culture operates is different from how it appears in the video film.

From the choice of location, particularly market, the video film can best be explained from the point of view of the contemporary. The choice of market as location therefore indicates a shift in the performance from the traditional, which begins after breaking the fast to the one, which begins even at the point of fasting. This shift is made possible within a broader shift in material gains, as there is a large audience in the market engaged in selling their wares to earn profit; performers stand at high chance of getting a little part of traders' gain compared to when they move from house to house in the traditional way.

The traditional sense of humor in *tashe* performance shifts to humiliation in the video film. As a performance for pleasure, it is meant to make people pass time pleasantly. But the video film shows that nowadays some performers misuse *tashe's* humorous intention to humiliate, insult and offend people through rude remarks for not getting a present for the performance they have undertaken. This development indicates that there is a shift from emphasis on entertainment to emphasis on financial

gains. It might be as a result of the shift from contentment with the little to an excessive demand for more. We are now living in a competitive world where people are after wealth acquisition by all means. There is a change in the economic status of the citizenry where public funding is not circulating as it is supposed to be because only few individuals are in control. Although viewers can get amused from the songs in the video film, it is obvious in the film plot that some of those to whom *tashe* is performed are not happy because they are greeted with rude remarks. Giving negative comments to the audience does not only annoy them, but it also shows how the event is changing at a time when peace of mind is required rather than tension. In principle *tashe* was traditionally performed by young people. But nowadays they seldom perform it. The effect of this is mediated by video film, which showcases some changes.

The traditionally allocated space for *tashe* is the *kofar gida* (compound's frontage terrace), but in the film *Tashe* under review, the director presents Hauwa in the beginning of the video film, as she enters the room of a couple and says she comes to perform for them. Viewers see her entering the room in an unusual manner, hence it is very strange. She does not care to say *salamu alaikum*, the usual greeting on arrival at someone's domain or at least the corrupted Hausa version, *sallama dai*. She moves in speedily in order to avoid being stopped. It is a device that the director employs to indicate that the message is not complete until she enters the room to suggest that in today's *tashe* performance, the status quo is violated. As a result of this violation, people do not get amused; therefore, they have not much interest in it any more. They have fear that those who undermine the tradition of *tashe* will ridicule them. This is an evidence to support the claim that it is not only Kanywood video films that enhance the breach of culture. The study through the video film *tashe* does not only show that there are other sources but, it also suggests that the custodians of culture play the primary role in determining the course of their culture.

Traditionally, *tashe* performers perform whether they are given gifts or not. The audience is entertained and the performers will come again the next day. But the situation is no longer the same these days. When performers approach the audience for *tashe*, instead of watching it, they avoid the performers by going inside the compound.

Based on this, one can say that there is a shift in *tashe* because some unpatriotic and undesirable people are changing the manner in which it should be performed. The video film serves as a mirror into the dynamism of culture. The cultural change is evident through the principles and practices by those undesirable performers and their provocative and ill-mannered remarks. The way the director uses the character of Hauwa through her costume and action particularly when she says she has come to perform *tashe* in the beginning of the video film shows the director's device in calling the attention of viewers to a new pattern of performance. Thus, the starting plotlines help in showing how the video film rises up out of something that has been there already and how it reveals a departure from its classical form. In a way, now *tashe* has come out and is cropping up to become an event which is influenced by the youths.

Through the character of Ari who asks Hauwa if *tashe* is supposed to be performed in the room when she meets him in the room, the video film uncovers the kind of shift from the traditional to modern, particularly from the point of view of Ari who plays the role of an old man. On the part of Hauwa, as a young woman, she could not separate performance space from social space. Viewers see Hauwa realizing that she encroaches upon Ari's domain and by implication his privacy by her new form of *tashe* which differs from conventional one. Thus, the director employs what can be considered the conventional wisdom when he uses the character of Daushe and Gatari to showcase various types of *tashe* at close shot in comparison to Hauwa's *tashe* thereby exploring a change from the traditional to modern especially when Daushe and Gatari plan for a rehearsal. This development does not only emphasize the effect of rehearsal in contemporary performance, but it also depicts the influence of global music in traditional performance especially when they only mention popular musicians such as Michael Jackson and Billy O and then stress that they undergo rehearsal before they perform. It is pertinent to mention that *Tashe* depicts change from behavioral norm of honesty and trust to uncultured and uncompromising behavior of dishonesty and distrust. This example of shift is seen in the video film when performers are sharing the gifts they get. They do not show justice in sharing, as such there is turmoil and disagreement among them. Daushe who proves to be the leader takes the greater share of the gifts. Evidently, his action is a depiction of the idiomatic expression,

*kashin dankali* (pile of potatoes) which is synonymous to the manner big potatoes are placed on top of small ones. When one relates this representation to the development in contemporary Hausa society, it entails that in today's *tashe* the least privileged are deprived of a certain freedom because *kashin dankali* basically includes the meaning 'to cheat'. It is a representation of how some people, particularly the bourgeoisie, are oppressing the masses, especially when the full idiomatic expression, *kashin dankali babba mai danne kanana* (pile of potatoes in which the big ones press the small ones) is taken into consideration. It might be right to say that in today's *Tashe*, the participants exhibit a departure from contentment to greed, as demonstrated by Dan'auta and Tukur in *Mai Kwadayi Tashi Mana* (Hey you, Mr Glutton, get away) in the film. This performance in this film discredits those kids who become voracious on seeing food and will not like to go until they are given. In principle, it is not only indicating a moral shift, but also suggesting a message aimed at advising people against greed. Decline in standards of morality and behavior, otherwise known as moral decadence, are manifest in *Tashe* to symbolize shift. Basically, the month of Ramadan is a holy month therefore people should remain holy and also fast. But the video film shows a group of performers who depart from the *modus operandi*. They do not only confiscate food from a boy, but they also eat it within fasting hours. Abdullahi Baba Lado is a victim of moral decadence in *Tashe* as he encounters public embarrassment through the performers' comments. Rather than to employ the services of film's extras, the director shoots the video film in a normal location where there are normal day's activities. In such location, what is likely to affect the smooth flow of storylines of the video film is the ambient sound from the movement of the public, vehicles or their horns. But, the director has successfully cleared away the background noise hence viewers do not experience any sound that can distract them from hearing the video film's discourses and seeing Lado's disgusting situation. They are able to notice the emergence of a new *tashe* in which they are potential culprits and subjects of ridicule if they fail to offer performers some gifts.

From the point of view of change in *tashe* from performance to video film, another evident difference between the two, apart from the change affected by technological innovations, is that of verbal expression. In traditional oral performance,

the audience saw performers focusing on checking and balancing cultural norms. Their roles were based more on moralizing. In the video film, the lens is focused on the performers, whose interest is to ridicule others and to amass wealth by collecting gifts. In the process, there is a shift away from entertainment and amusement which *tashe* had set for itself. The issue of cultural restrictions in areas considered to be morally offensive is dropped for personal aggrandizement. It may be right to say that some contemporary youths who partake in *tashe* are morally decadent because the video film shows that they manifest delinquent behaviors. In spite of the distinction between filmic representation and a general reality in society, the video film reflects on the behavior of some youths. In the video film, moral decadence is perceived in the society as an insignia of the youths. It is further foregrounded through the characters of Dan'auta, Tukur, Daushe, Gatari and Hauwa with their inappropriate attitudes. Hauwa's *tashe* is marked by a change in the starting day, which can be considered as a violation of rites. She starts on the fifth day while tradition demands that *tashe* begins on the tenth day of Ramadan. Dan'auta's variety of *tashe* is associated with a shift from mere posing a threat to a real hit-and-run syndrome. He does not only maintain the joking aspect of the performance, but he also knocks down a man and runs away. Traditionally, in this *tashe* known as *Zan Buge* (I Will Hit), the lead vocalist makes only one attempt to hit an audience present while the chorister restricts him by pulling him back as follows:

Waka:	Zan buge
Amshi:	Kar ka buge ( <i>Tashe</i> 00: 34: 43 minutes)
Song:	I will hit
Chorus:	Do not hit ( <i>Tashe</i> 00: 34: 43 minutes)

Daushe's sample of *Macukule* showcases a shift from emphasis on mutual co-existence to promotion of provocative statements among different ethnic groups, particularly Hausa and Gwari. More often than not, a *tashe* like *macukule* in a traditional dispensation is not meant to despise or to depict a contemptuous portrayal of an ethnic group particularly the Gwari, rather it is aimed at showing intercultural<sup>13</sup> joviality. But

Daushe does not only change some terminologies in the video film by use of negative

<sup>13</sup> In multi-ethnic Nigeria, there exist inter-ethnic jokes. One example is the joke between the Hausa and the Gwari. Although the jokes might sound contemptuous, the persons involved are not angry because they know it is meant to create humor.

adjectives such as *marowaci*, *mayaudari* (miser, deceiver), but he also uses abusive language such as *idonsa kamar na barewa* (his face is like that of a gazelle) and *kunnuwansa kamar faranti* (his ears are like trays) to refer to a character in the presence of his girlfriend.

On a different level, change relates to a receiver behavioral shift with regard to the intra-diegetic gaze as contained in contemporary *tashe*. The concept of gaze in video film is characterized by who is viewing the film in general. The other dimension of gaze in particular involves the intra-diegetic gaze (Animasaun, 2011:40), which concerns a character gazing upon another character inside the film. Therefore, the analysis of the intra-diegetic gaze considers how a character looks at other character(s) with admiration or contempt and reflects upon what the character sees, whether or not the character adopts changes. As Animasaun (2011:43) puts it, the society has nevertheless remained increasingly integrated, but also highly differentiated as each group is reacting to its immediate environment in relation to the larger community. *Tashe* performance as an act of communication requires a sender, a receiver, a medium, a message and humor because a significant amount of human communication deals with humor. Therefore, humor influences viewers and persuades them to accept or reject what they see and hear. While it gives pleasure, creates playful moods, increases feelings of social solidarity and relieves tension, its transformation is based on the behavior of receivers' in *Tashe* video film. The senders ridicule the receivers and portray them as possessing negative attributes. For example, Daushe, a performer as sender ridicules Lado as receiver. As a performer sender, he ridicules Tukur, a performer as receiver in front of his girlfriend. The messages are based on pejorative stereotypes of the receivers. For example one receiver is addressed as miser, deceiver, stingy, a verbal message in addition to gaze. Therefore, the resulting verbal assaults as well as the receiver's cultural values and expectations concerning appropriate social situation have affected cultural norms of politeness. As a result, through the additional verbal message, three people complain about the ridicule and embarrassment they receive from *tashe* performers. One of the complainants reports that Daushe and Gatari's *tashe* differs from the traditional *tashe* because they meet him clearing his corn and they throw it on him and ridicule him at the same time. This is not how it is

done, he emphasizes. For this complainant, *tashe* performance is allowed in Hausa culture, and it has been in practice during the month of Ramadan. Also it is a seasonal event, thus by implication it fulfills one of the situational markers in performance which is occasional principles. But the manner in which it is practiced in the video film is marked by changes. Another complainant reports that he is also a victim of change because performers throw his peacock into the well. As for a third complainant, performers meet him at his girlfriend's house and they keep teasing him. While the reactions of the three receivers show a clear breach of the rules of standard social values, particularly peaceful co-existence, the response they receive from the village head uncovers the type of conventional *tashe* he knew. It is the type that the audience offer presents voluntarily and not under compulsion. In addition, a receiver's verbal reaction that, this is not how *tashe* is performed when he watches *Jatau Mai Magani* (Jatau the Medicine Man) is another clear example of shift: here it involves materials such as maize, photo album and radio instead of herbs used in the traditional performance. However, the situation shows a basic aspect of performance as the actual execution of an action in performance is never precisely a carbon copy of the other. Although some changes are encountered, the society is not silent about them. The director uses the character of an old man played by Aminu Ari Baba to warn Hauwa and his daughter, Ladidi, who are set to go out to perform *tashe* and by extension other girls who intend to perform it, not to go into a bachelor's house and to come back home early. Through Ari's profound warning, viewers hear how *tashe* is a tradition and how it has been in practice. In addition, the filmmaker presents an interlude of some *tashe* performance songs which may serve to boost cultural memory. However, those who know *tashe* performance in the arena could notice the changes and modifications from the *tashe* in the video film to suggest cultural shift.

### **7. 1. 5. Analysis of *Fulani* (2012)**

#### **7. 1. 5. 1. Content of *Fulani* (2012)**

*Fulani* (2012) serves as an example of intertextuality in film, as *sharo* the element of reenactment of performance under review is more or less embedded in the plotlines of the film, *Fulani* (2012). The video film starts with Karima (played by



Hadiza Mohammed) narrating to her son Kamal (played by Adam A Zango) about the bravery of the Fulani: how they live in the midst of wild animals in the bush and as nomads. According to her, Kamal will acknowledge them as outstanding brave people when he sees them at the point of *sharo*<sup>14</sup> performance. But Kamal gives a reluctant response to her, which is a sign of his disregard for tradition, as he does not know the performance and how it is practiced. As a youth who lives in the city, he has no knowledge of this custom. Incidentally, his mother tells him that he is also Fulani by lineage because his great grandparents are Fulani. However, his grandfather migrated to the city and lives there. This revelation motivates Kamal to move to the countryside, an entirely new environment and new culture for him. Gradually, he does not only acquaint himself with the people, but he also faces a challenge, which pushes him to participate in *sharo*, the common performance in the new environment. Against the wish of Malle and her family, Kamal challenges Zahradeen in *sharo* and eventually wins to signal a new development of his cultural consciousness and personality. Therefore, the video film shows one example of a performance in a rural Hausa-Fulani community that dates back to the pre-colonial era. Perseverance in spite of opposition and difficulty recur in the video film, as Kamal experiences a new lifestyle, which includes a test of endurance.

#### **7. 1. 5. 2. Elements of Shift and Hybrid Cultural Dimension in *Fulani* (2012)**

*Sharo*, a traditional Fulani form of performance fashions part of the storylines of *Fulani* (2012). The story copes with the changes in Hausa-Fulani society characterized by competing forms of entertainment such as the arena and the video

<sup>14</sup> *Sharo* is a performance of flogging with a whip, during which the person being flogged is not expected to cry or show any sign of feeling pain. It is through this performance that a youth can prove to his parents and relatives that he can bear not only hardship, but can also take responsibility of being the head of a household. The performance originates as a result of dispute between two slaves. To settle the discord, the master of the slaves gave each of the two slaves a stick and requested them to beat one another in sequence, in order to see who is more brave by having the ability to put up with the strikes. There are two types of *sharo* performance: small and big. The small *sharo* is performed on occasions of ceremonies such as coronation, wedding and naming. It does not take a long time preparation and execution. The big *sharo* takes a longer time. It is performed between youths of different clans. Before it starts, a youth in clan A sends an arm band to another youth (his age-mate) in clan B, challenging him for a duel. Thus, the arm band is a symbol of challenge. The appropriate periods for this performance are: during harvest, when there is sufficient food for people and pastures for cattle to graze; and during cold season, as they believe that cold weather enhances healing of wounds, sustained from flogging. For more details, see Ahmed, Yahaya Mohammed. "A Preliminary Study of Soro Among the Fulbe of Yale" in *Harsunan Nijeriya*. ed. Daudu, Garba Kawu, Vol. XXII Kano: CSNL, BUK. 2010, 85-93 . use short form as always

film. This study does not only examine the use of performance in video film, but also the use of film in the reconstruction of a people's performance tradition. Indeed, *Fulani* contains alterations of the original performance because the filmmaker creates situations that have not existed in the tradition. By inference, in terms of shift, the video film can stylistically be a regeneration, as *sharo* is initially hidden or not immediately obvious although a traditional feature such as *tatsar nono*<sup>15</sup> is retained. In such a video film, considered as epic film, as Ayakoroma (2014:120) describes, “legends are transferred into our lifetime, in the sense that such production brings images of past heroes or communities back”. However, it does not mean that *Fulani* (2012) is a duplicate of *sharo* because there are deeply embedded stories, which include turning points and inciting incidents for the purpose of maximum effect. This device of mixing sources according to Ayakoroma (2014: 122), could be responsible for the formulaic approach or stereotypical nature of many films. The filmmaker retains *sharo*'s traditional features and at the same time allows it to adapt to new qualities of the present time. According to Ayakoroma (2014: 124), the aim of incorporating new qualities by a filmmaker is to eulogize and stamp a notion about the valor and strength of the community to the viewer. I find Ayakoroma's assertion relevant to *Fulani*, as the filmmaker uses the role of Hadiza to highlight the bravery of the Fulani people for Kamal and by extension for the viewers. This is an example of an outstanding change, as the performance of *sharo* does not feature or require any explanation because it is self-explanatory. The video film departs from the performance in its ability to express more dynamics of everyday existence and experience. And it does this, to borrow Adeshina Afolayan (2014:11) words, “through the privilege that films have as the dominant popular cultural form for packaging and repackaging everyday subjectivity”. Being a fiction video film, *Fulani's* case of shift as its important quality lies in the flexibility based on the freedom to change the form and purpose of the performance. Therefore, the filmmaker uses the freedom available to him based on his point of view to express a new interpretation of an ‘old performance form’ through a new process.

The video film depicts a change in ethnic merger and places emphasis on

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<sup>15</sup> These two episodes, performance and milking the cow are manifestation of the traditional life style, as the Fulani are known for this performance and are also known for rearing cattle.

cultural and linguistic awakening. By inference, unlike the performance, the video film shows an outstanding ethnic merger between two ethnic groups that gives rise to the coinage Hausa-Fulani as an adopted linguistic entity. In a related sense, the video film showcases that two languages that are not only distinct, but are also from different linguistic phylum can merge. Furniss (1996:65) discusses how the Hausa and the Fulani have been living together for a long time and their ability to coexist has resulted into not only understanding, but also consent between them. While Hausa belongs to the Chadic group of languages, Fulfulde is in the Niger-Congo group along with Igbo and Yoruba, two of the three major languages in Nigeria. This development suggests that mutual coexistence in Nigeria requires tolerance when the linguistic and cultural complexities are considered. There is a portrayal of new life style that necessarily requires people to not only think about who they are, but also what they can do, at least in the context of contemporary Nigeria. Since the Fulani largely adopted Hausa as a second language, it is evident that they speak a hybrid Fulfulde.

The desire to have knowledge of a cultural event in his ethnic community and to participate in it makes Kamal to migrate to the rural area without considering what is said about rural areas. According to (Animasaun, 2011:48), “in most Nigerian movies the rural setting is depicted as dangerous”. Based on this, most people migrate to the city, which is considered as a haven for greener pastures. *Fulani* operates a reversal of this kind of journey motif from the village to the city. Kamal relocates to the village without considering if something unpleasant is going to happen to him. He does not consider the predicament of unemployment and decadence symbolized by the witches, as one of the characteristics of the rural areas. Viewers see the transformation of Kamal, the son of a widow from what can be considered a modern family of three. By inference, the rural setting which Kamal migrates to needs to be developed so that indigenous knowledge and what it can offer can be accessed.

In his analysis of a Yoruba movie, *Ikekun Ola* (the door of wealth), Animasaun (2011:169) shows that the rural setting is communal contrary to the individualistic rural area. In the same vein through the journey of his protagonist Kamal, Yari depicts a change of mind-set in the journey motif and pays attention to the root by stressing more positive aspects of the rural settings. The video film is characterized by this

journey motif: Kamal encounters some challenges before accomplishing a major task. In addition, there is also a structural relation to folktales in this motif. This technique which the director adapts creates a major shift, as the video film is seen to contain more narrative instead of action, which features prominently in the traditional performance of *sharo*. This study considers the journey motif as a social reality and the structuring device which is not visual during performance. What is of interest to the audience is the event, as it is the major action they come to watch. Therefore, journey motif to the performance by the performers is secondary to the audience. More often than not, they may or may not even notice it. As Thackway (2003:84) asserts, journeys often provide the central motor to events in the narrative and symbolize some form of initiatory quest for knowledge and wisdom, or battle between good and evil. It means that, in terms of structure, the video film is non-linear thus making a shift from the linear path to the end of the traditional *sharo* performance.

The filmmaker introduces a new life style to an undergraduate young man and by implication to the viewers. By virtue of his exposure, Kamal thinks he knows a lot, but he is surprised when he hears something new from his mother. The ethnic hybridity revealed in *Fulani* symbolizes a departure from the concept of Kanywood's characters being rooted in a specific ethnic formation. It suggests a manifestation of a possible cross-ethnic trajectory. As Tsika (2015:14) asserts, cross-ethnicity tends to nourish notions of good acting. Cross-ethnicity suggests cultural mixing and when people from different cultural backgrounds are brought together, they are easily integrated into the society, particularly a multi-lingual and multi-cultural country such as Nigeria. Kamal does not doubt the new ethnic specificity and affiliation, which his mother assigned to him, as she says to him *kai ma Fulani ne* (you are also Fulani) (*Fulani* 00: 11: 54 minutes). More importantly, the scene shows change in the hidden cross-ethnic coexistence in contemporary time, to the point of regarding the diversity of Nigeria. Evidently, the video film showcases a shift from the notion of mono-ethnic industry to include a variety of ethno-linguistic groups that represent the different ethnic strands in northern Nigeria, similar to how Tsika (2015:15) describes Nigerian film's characters – they do not necessarily need to be kept or tied into one single knot. It may be right to say that even though Kanywood video films bear ethnic specificity or particularity,

*Fulani* in particular departs from this claim to constitute a concrete aesthetics of cross-ethnic identity. For the Hausa characters in *Fulani*, the roles they take are not restricted to their ethnicity. They can not only be restricted to their culture, but they can also change to another culture easily and quickly in the manner they want in what Tsika (2015:17) describes as responsive to radical transformation.

The role of Zainab, a supporting actress, is used to expound the shift and to raise new cultural awareness. Zainab's role symbolizes a clarion call, a strongly expressed demand or request for action aiming at viewers to know where they come from: to consider their roots and who they are. The relevance of this call is that these days there are turbulent situations, particularly cases of ethnic clashes in northern Nigeria, especially in Plateau and Taraba states. In some localities, some ethnic groups claim they are the original natives while other ethnic groups are regarded as settlers. Primarily, Zainab injects change in people's mind-set and awakens them to tolerate other people by appreciating their cultures.

The video film represents *sharo* quite closely, with some changes. The changeover between city life and village life by Kamal changes both his attitude to life and the glamour of *sharo* when he participates in it as a non-professional. Viewers see him shift from a nuclear family that also changes to a single parent family after the demise of his father, and then to an extended family when he relocates to the rural area. There is evidently some irony in these shifting settings, because with the emergence of capitalism and the more recent structural adjustment policies and inflation in Africa, the nuclear family, as in developed countries becomes a financially viable social group, at least when Kamal's life in the city is compared to his life in the village.

The video film's actions take place in both the city and the village, and focus on a relatively minor incident of changing base. Kamal insists on changing base because he knows where he is living, but he does not know where his parents come from. Like late Bob Marley says, "Going to our fatherland" in his album *Exodus* (1977), which expresses the eternal quest for land, identity and harmony, so is Kamal's case. When his mother says to him that he is also Fulani, who live in rural settlements, he feels motivated to go back to the roots. He is also going to see where his great grand parents

lived. Gradually, this seemingly insignificant incident of changing base matures into *sharo* performance: a clash of two individuals involving Kamal of the city and Zahradeen of the village. The addition of the earlier scene in the city showcases the kind of change witnessed in *sharo*. However, the scene allows actions in the video film to get into the heart of the changes quickly and to move rapidly towards a conflict. The main conflict arises from the personalities of Zahradeen and Kamal, who represent tradition and stagnation on one hand and modernity and change on the other hand. As Africa is continually advocating for change through the system of modernity, *Fulani* is an example to see this advocacy at work, where what has come to be known as modernity interfaces with tradition and annihilates it, as symbolically displayed when Kamal defeats Zahradeen. Evidently, Kamal emerges from an environment that is anxious of modernity, while Zahradeen's life is confined to a place in a world untouched by the insignia of modernity. Rather, it is dominated by the persistent tropes of the pre-modern: namely custom and tradition. Therefore, the conflict between Zahradeen and Kamal is not only a clash of personalities, but also of two different ideologies or principles. The arrogant Zahradeen sees honor in previous victories and feels that any intruding opponent should be humiliated and dishonored in defeat. But the stubborn Kamal intends to show his social superiority over the man whom he judges to be an unexposed and stagnant villager. Their personalities are not complementary, as the stubborn Kamal becomes the unwitting agent for change. Socially, he is a role model. He decides to go to the village as a model to be adopted and copied.

### **7. 1. 5. 3. Shift in Composition and Transmission of Verbal Utterances**

Does something happen to performance when filmmakers put their hands on it? This question relates to Gadjigo's (2004:34) assertion that “when the mode of the music changes, the walls of the city shake”. He seems to suggest that change is a dominant idea of art in general and film in particular, as visual imagery is a powerful form of representation in the cultural evolution. While respect for tradition is a profound characteristic of *sharo*, in the video film, the filmmaker deals with tradition intrinsically. Therefore, as he concentrates on the basics of *sharo*, it implies a shift

from total submission to a soft protest. He uses the theme of perseverance to present protest and criticism about the veto power of the personnel at the helm of affairs in the film's regulation commission. As Gehrmann (2005:169) explains, one should think not exclusively of African dictatorial regimes, but of the construction of authority and power as a general pattern of human behavior. Conventionally, as a fellow *sharo* performer, Kamal should not consider Zahraddeen as an oppressor simply because he excels in *sharo*. But Kamal departs from the normative *sharo* pattern to condemn the conservative style of the authority with the sharp weapon of a curse. As a one-time convict, he screams out rude words to Zahraddeen. To this effect, in the film the oppressor becomes an object of ridicule and rejection, which results to an ignominious end to the authoritative personnel. By inference, the subservient filmmaker introduces a subtle change. The curse Kamal renders is an allusion manifestation that out of pressure from the government, the filmmakers have resorted to subversive activities. At the same time, events in the filmic version do not always remain loyal or accurate to the traditional conventions. Traditionally, a youth gets a girl to marry by participating in *sharo*. However, the video film does not show a marriage that comes out from *sharo*, the most common and traditional space for dating. Rather, the film shows a change and presents a new space for dating. Kamal and Maryam meet for the first time on transit and become friends before Kamal gets involved in *sharo*.

*Fulani* is centered on pride, rivalry and suspicion. These characteristics are ingredients of contemporary daily life, which are seen in the video film to showcase departure from the traditional. Zahradeen is not only surprised that none of the youths has come out to say he wants to marry Malle in spite of her beauty, but he is also boasting. He feels that none of the youths can contest with him. He is blowing his own trumpet by shouting and praising himself to claim he is dangerous. He is bragging about how much of a champion he is at every *sharo* he does. Within the notion of tradition, by shouting his praises and epithets himself, Zahradeen shows changes from the traditional code of modesty as a status quo. He does not only talk loudly and very proudly about himself, but there is also alteration in his facial expression, whilst the others listen and think of how much of losers they really are. Viewers can notice a changeover between gentlemanly conduct and uncompromising conduct. He alternates

between mild or calm and violent or rough behavior. More often than not, these changes happen with the guide of the filmmaker, who has a great deal of control over what happens as Turner (1987:31) suggests.

Although there is a dance involving boys and girls with audience around to depict a typical performance event, viewers of the video film gain more than the audience of the performance. Unlike the audience, the viewer gets information on principal actors, a privilege the audience do not always have during performance in the arena where actions are centered on the main event. In the video film, viewers get detailed information not only about Kamal, but also about Karima, who is not a *sharo* performer. In addition to seeing Kamal in *sharo*, viewers see how he is brought up by a single parent because his father passed away, when he was two years old. Viewers learn about the cause of his father's death through flashback. In a performance, if an audience misses an action, he or she has no opportunity to see it because there is no provision for rewind. No matter how many times it is repeated, it is going to be the second one, as no two performances are ever exactly the same. But in the video film unlike the performance, viewers see Karima, acted by Hadiza Mohammed, depicting a role model of a woman. She shows a woman's devotion to her family, firstly to her husband when he was alive, and secondly to her children after the demise of their father. She performs her gender role according to the expectations of a woman, this is very different for a punctual performance event as in *sharo*. She shows that love is reciprocal. In the early part of the video, we see how she conceals from her children the news of the circumstance that led to their father's death because she does not want to make them feel upset as she often does. In a flashback, we see how she serves food to her husband, sits close to him, and has a conversation with him while he is eating, thereby depicting the character of Karima as a modern Hausa / Fulani woman.

The video film ends with Kamal and Maryam getting married. They relocate to the city. Expectantly, the video film's conclusion depicts a wind of change is blowing and affecting the performance of *sharo*. In the past, in several Hausa/Fulani localities, largely those least exposed to outside influences, this is a deeply entrenched tradition and custom, carefully carried on from generation to generation for hundreds of years. By watching such an event in the video film, one is granted a look into a past.



Although there are changes, but one is also given a partial answer to the question regarding the changes. As evidenced by Kamal and Maryam, already the signs of change and the dawn of a new era are apparent because they marry and live in the city. The situation of Kamal and Maryam is connected to *sharo* as it is similar to how *Fulanin gida*<sup>16</sup> find themselves. For the newer generation, (their offspring) largely exposed to modern education and urban influence, this is a welcome change; for the older generation, a threat of extinction from remembrance in history. Yet, this confrontation between the old and the new is an age long phenomenon taking place in every part of the world.

The video film shows a departure from the traditional fetishism in the character of Kamal. While Zahradeen uses charm and concoction on his whips, Kamal refuses to use any charm. Instead of taking it, he shows disbelief in charms and upholds total confidence and belief in Allah, as he confesses that he will not fall down, *in sha Allahu* (by the will of God). He further manifests allegiance to the supreme-being, as he declares that *da yardan Allah zan yi nasara* (by the will of God, I will be victorious). Evidently, the binary opposition between Zahradeen and Kamal depicts a departure or change from the pre-Islamic to the post-Islamic society. According to Afolayan (2014:20), such a departure is marked by the framework of the ambivalent relationship between the traditional and the modern.

The video film showcases change in the procedure of challenging an opponent. The protocol and courtesy of *sharo* demand that challenge is made during performance and only in the performance arenas. But Kamal meets Zahradeen in his house and challenges him to *sharo*. Evidently, Zahradeen is surprised by Kamal's breach of protocol. He considers Kamal as an amateur who can only perform a very amateur performance. The video film is marked by an over-reaction. Zahradeen does not only get up and declares a death sentence on Kamal, but he also praises himself thus,

Aradu sai na kashe shi

Sai ya gwammace bai shigo cikin duniyar nan ba.

<sup>16</sup> In terms of settlement, the Fulani are categorized into two. Firstly, there are Fulanin Daji (Forest Fulani) who live in the forests and move from one forest to another with their cattle in search of grazing land. They are also referred to as Herdsmen in Nigeria's present political circle. The Fulani in this category perform *sharo*. Secondly, there are the Fulanin Gida (Town Fulani) who live in towns as a result of their desire to socialize or they no longer own cattle. The Fulani in this category do not practice *sharo* anymore.

Sai ni nan Magaji

Ya gagari rugan Ardo Hammadu

Ya gagari rugan Haddure

Na gagari rugan Hammadu (*Fulani* 00: 57: 02 minutes)

I swear I will kill him

He will regret ever being born. Only I Magaji is here

He is unbeatable in the camp of Ardo Hammadu

He is unbeatable in the camp of Haddure

I am unbeatable in the camp of Hammadu (*Fulani* 00: 57: 02: minutes)

Within the notion of performance, when a performer praises himself he is exhibiting an act of communication. In the case of the video film, the act of communication is not only in a specially marked mode of action, but it is also put on display and screened up to observation by the viewers. The filmmaker uses ideas that have appeared before in performance, but are new not only to the viewers, but also to the filmmaker. Afolayan (2014:28) considers this as a form of creativity and goes on to say that it becomes transformative because it involves the deepest case of being creative, as the creator changes the pre-existing style in some way. More specifically, Zahradeen's choice of both the first person pronoun *ni* (I) and the third person pronoun *ya* (He) to refer to himself is as a result of his uncompromising intentions. First, he wants to speak about him by himself. Secondly, he wants to speak about him on behalf of others, particularly the boys who have already pronounced his capabilities in *sharo* performance. Thirdly, he wants to express how unbeatable he has been; therefore, he uses the emphatic pronouns.

By way of conclusion, *Fulani* becomes transformative by introducing new rules of contest, and by implication transgressing the old rule through Kamal's concern with the projection of religious principles, particularly his emphasis to prayer,

Ya Allah da kai kadai na dogara

Ba ni da wata madogara sai kai

Ya Allah wannan bawa naka azzaluni ne

Kuma kai ba ka son mutane azzalumai

Kuma kai ka hana zalunci, ba ka yin zalunci  
Ya Allah ka taimake ni a kan wannan bawa naka  
Ka sa na zama misali a rayuwarsa  
Ta yadda ba zai sake addabar na kasa da shi ba  
Ya Allah ka taimake ni a kan wannan buri nawa  
Tsarki ya tabbata gare ka Allah (*Fulani* 01: 29: 37 minutes)

Oh God I depend on you alone  
I have no other helper except you  
Oh God, this man is a wicked man  
Surely you do not want wickedness  
You forbid wickedness hence you are not wicked  
Oh God, help me over this wicked man  
Let me be an example in his life  
So that he will not torment those under him  
Oh God, help me to achieve my heart desires  
Purity is your attribute oh God. (*Fulani* 01: 29: 37 minutes)

Although it is neither mentioned nor seen on screen, but on account of an in-depth observation of trends of events in Kanywood industry, an official was responsible for the convictions of Adam A. Zango who takes the role of Kamal in particular and other filmmakers in general. In this case, the duel in the video film can be interpreted as a fight between an oppressive and conservative official (who refuses change because he feels he has something to conserve) versus Kamal, representing filmmakers, who feel they were tormented because they come up with a progressive change. It may be right to say that rather than projecting the traditional performance as in *sharo*, the video film shifts to employ a subversive tone, which is intended to challenge the power or influence of a government or of an established principle. Zahradeen in the video film represents stagnation and when Kamal defeats him in the contest it suggests that a wind of change is beginning to blow towards the surge for modernity.

### **7. 1. 6. Analysis of *Karen Bana* (2013)**

#### **7. 1. 6. 1. Content of *Karen Bana* (2013)**

*Karen Bana* (2013) relates to *dambe* in Hausa society. Set in a rural environment, the video film's plotlines center on a young man, Dahiru, played by Adam A. Zango, as the central character. Dahiru gets the support of his father, Mada, played by Ibrahim Sinana, to attend secular school to pursue his heart desire. Despite receiving formal education in the city, he comes back to his village, Kurmi, to face allegiance to tradition. Placed between modernity and tradition, Dahiru decides to uphold modernization even though he engages Horro in boxing in order to marry Barira, played by Maryam Booth. Barira's father, Banga-banga, is an ardent traditionalist. He is a reactionary who opposes social change by refusing to give her the chance to choose her husband between two rivals. For Horro, one of the rivals, the boxing will make history repeats itself. His father Gadanga once defeated Mada, Dahiru's father, to marry Haule, played by Hadiza Mohammed. Now Horro feels it is his time to defeat Dahiru and marry Barira to make the circle of heroism complete. But, for Dahiru, the boxing affords him the opportunity for revenge in order to restore the reputation of his family.

#### **7. 1. 6. 2. Conflation of a New Form of Media and the Oral Mode**

*Karen Bana* (2013) opens with the below off screen voice-over narration. Thus, *Karen Bana* shows a cross-media and a bond between variables of orality and the accustomed modern convention of filmmaking.

*Boxing! Dirty business! As you hear it, you know it is not an easy job. It is a dirty business while others watch others are clapping, cheering and happy when they see a man falls down, bleeding from his mouth. In one town, in a society, over the years, there has been a duel among men, engaging in boxing. Some people died, some people received money, some happiness, while some got a wife..... (Karen Bana 00:01:02 minutes).*

The one minute two seconds speech is an example of how the viewers listen to

narration only, instead of both listening to and watching image of the narrator because film as medium is always visual and more often than not audio-visual. This development showcases a moment when speech seems to have power over images. The filmmaker uses the above oral narrative (monologue) at the beginning and it serves the purpose of summarizing the whole story in one minute. This short introduction establishes, without image on the screen, the main elements of the plot which evolves around traditional boxing. The narration is embedded in the plot with due precedence to vocal modification and modulation, the result is not a re-enactment of oral performance, but simply a case of the filmmaker's instantaneous interplay between orality and film. It shows the competition between words and images. As Colette Piault (1994:1) asserts, “the replacement of images by oral speech or by other verbal element is still dominant in films”. The oral speech is inserted into the video film and thus has no concrete autonomy. Although it does not only concur with the plotlines, it is also a sort of plus, useful and interesting. It is useful for a better understanding of the main subject of the video film, which is, of course insight into the traditional boxing performance. It is interesting because it explains the nature of metamorphosis, which the performance has undergone, a central issue in this study. Although the introductory oral narrative is short and it is in everyday diction, its insertion more or less makes the video film depart from the performance, as it depicts what Okpewho (1990:120) refers to as “high emotive charge”. In terms of vocalization, the video film showcases and enjoys a certain elevation over the ordinary narrative mode in performance. Regarding the issue of the way orality reacts with film, Kaschula (2001:xxx) maintains that there is a strong connection with oral tradition in African films. The reason for the adaptation of oral tradition in films, according to Kaschula is that it is almost the basic starting point of all modern African literature. Similarly, Okpewho (1990:12) complements this intersection as he explains that his experience has been that even within the so-called speech mode, there is usually a high poetic afflatus which frequently erupts into supportive proverbs of emotional and poetic intensity. As it is the case, *Karen Bana* is endowed with hybridity. Viewers experience this transposition by hearing an off screen soundtrack of a local boxing performance singer, late Dan'anace praising Wandara, a popular local boxer. The

significance of the song is evident when the camera captures a boxing arena in a long shot. Boxers, drummers and the spectators set the scene and introduce the video film's narrative structure. The director uses an old song to mark a return to viewers' memory lane. It is a device to uncover the connection between the soundtrack, the image and some changes. Although connection emerges from the soundtrack and the image, there is a striking shift from the traditional boxing performance. Traditionally, boxing is a performance mainly for *mahàutaa* (butchers) only. Formerly, they usually allowed their hair to grow long and then had it plaited. In the video film, a lot of people involve in boxing not only the butchers. This development suggests that traditional boxing now involves people of different professions. It has been reshaped and it is no longer associated with the butchers only. Practically, there is also a shift from the traditional hair-do that used to characterize the boxers. The video film presents the boxers with low hair-cut and others are seen with modern style hair-cut compared to when they plaited their hair.

The use of costumes is another area characterized by shift. Traditionally, when a contest is about to start, boxers take off their normal cloth and leave only a pair of knickers or underwear on them. On top of the underwear, they wear *warki* (leather loin-cloth) which is decorated. In the video film, boxers are not only seen without underwear, but they also don't have *warki* on them. In place of traditional costumes, they wear their normal short trousers ending at the knees and other boxers wear their normal trousers. Through a long shot which frames the boxers, drummers and spectators, the viewers are able to see a full view of the three categories of people in the performance space and how they are connected to each other. Typically, in a performance space, performers and spectators interact and affect or change each other in some way. In the case of the video film under review, it is the camera that does the capturing and the interaction changes to symbolize a performance within a performance, which is reformed through a modernized form of stark lighting. The intensity, direction and quality of lighting helps to influence viewers' understanding of the characters, theme and mood. For example, viewers are able to see clearly the mood of Gadanga played by Tahir Fagge and his opponent after winning and losing a fight respectively. The camera captures Gadanga, his patron and supporters in a happy mood

for his victory, and then the camera moves away from them and captures Sallau, played by Rabi'u Rikadawa, the patron of the defeated boxer, showing his annoyance and departure from the arena immediately. By the use of camera movement, his annoyance and the subsequent departure from the arena is a means by which the camera communicates to the spectators and by extension the audience of the video film that there is a problem, which needs to be solved. Immediately the camera shifts from him and captures his wife to expose two divergent opinions that depict change in cultural values. On the one hand, Haule's mother is in support of her friendship with Gadanga. On the other hand, her father is not supporting the relationship. This attitude depicts parents' parallel opinions towards the choice of their daughter's partners. The voice of Haule's mother is amplified to signify her objection to her husband's decision on who marries their daughter. This incident serves as an example of shift from the traditional norm in *Karen Bana*, especially regarding interaction between husband and wife. In the traditional norm of behavior between husband and wife, as Chamo (2012:64) states, a wife is not supposed to express her feelings to her husband directly, whether she is happy or unhappy. By implication, the norm requires her to calm her temper whenever she is speaking to her husband. *Karen Bana* does not only show a departure from this tradition, but it also upholds freedom for a woman to express her views freely to her husband, especially with regards to their daughter. Therefore, expressing positive feelings by a woman to her husband and discussing the future of their daughter is worth more than mentioning. Haule's mother means that time has come for a wife to make a contribution to any decision taken in the family. A wife is not only a bona fide member of her matrimonial family, but she is also a decision maker. Evidently, Haule maintains the decision of her mother by going out to see her suitor in spite of her father's refusal. The camera functions in two ways as they chat. First, as each character speaks, the camera focuses on him or her in a closer shot. Secondly, it captures the two characters together while one is speaking to the other to signify their unity and diversity, as they are bound by a common traditional motif. But they are very different from each other on idealism: Gadanga as an advocate of tradition verse Haule as an advocate of change. As a boxer, Gadanga is ready to face any challenge. He employs the traditional use of personal praises and boasts. They are

considered as powerful expressive acts used by performers to serve as weapons under conditions of high intensity of conflict and viewers realized that bursting, pride and confidence are Gadanga's strong weapons.

Besides Gadanga as a role character who is an admirer of tradition, Mada is another character whom viewers steadily see on screen. By way of characterization, he looks fearless both in and out of the ring. Indeed, he is a boxer of fearsome dimensions. He engages in two fights and wins. The camera captures him, Haule and her father. Although they meet by coincidence, from a critical point of view, this study considers that the function of the camera is to capture a situation depicting shift from the traditional norm of *kunya* to an interaction which is not only sophisticated, but it is also comfortable in social situations. Even though Mada and Haule are not yet married, on the one hand, critics may look at the presence of Sallau as a breach of the status quo for stopping to talk to the suitor of his daughter while she is conversing with him. On the other hand, this study considers the need for in-laws to socialize with each other. When they socialize, they come together to understand each other. As a result of interacting, they will aspire to a progressive society compared to the type demonstrated by Gadanga and Mada. The dialogue between them is a testimony that Gadanga has a grudge against Mada:

Mada: Me ya kawo ka nan Gadanga?

Gadanga: Gaban filin dambe ya tashi a nan

Mada: Kaitonka Gadanda. Ka manta cewa soyayya gamon jini ne ba karfi ba?

Gadanga: Haka kake gani. Ina maka gargadi, ka shiga taitayinka.

Mada: Gadanga! Ko za mu sa zare ne? (*Karen Bana* 00:30:50 minutes)

Translation

Mada: What brings you here Gadanga.

Gadanga: It is the hostility in the boxing ring that turns up here.

Mada: Woe unto you Gadanga. You forget that love is an emotional contest not a physical one?

Gadanga: That is your perception. I am warning you to mind your status.

Mada: Gadanga! Can we duel? (*Karen Bana* 00:30:50 minutes)



The director makes use of both the camera and the characters to make known his intention, which is to showcase transformation in performance. The camera goes round and zooms on Gadanga, Mada, Haule and finally on Sallau who speaks directly to the camera. The appearance of Haule and Sallau in addition to Sallau using Haule (his daughter) to entice Gadanga and Mada to fight is a new development in boxing. Viewers hear him saying to her,

Ki saurare ni. Mutum yakan iya samun soyayyar mace ta kada wani mutum a kasa. Mutum yakan iya samun soyayyar mace ta furucin bakinsa. Mutum yakan iya samun soyayyar mace ta basirarsa. Mutum yakan iya samun soyayyar mace ta amfani da dukiyarsa. Mutun yakan iya samun soyayyar mace ta amfani da takobi (Karen Bana 00:32:20 minutes).

#### Translation

Listen to me. A man can win a love on sand. A man can win a love with his tongue. A man can win a love with his wealth. A man can win a love with his knowledge. A man can win a love with a sword. (Karen Bana 00:32:20 minutes).

Sallau's enumeration of symbols involved in boxing such as sand, tongue and knowledge are practical and workable in traditional boxing. But his inclusion of wealth and sword as symbols for strategies of winning is an example of the transformation in performance. It signifies that in today's boxing performance it is not unlikely that boxers use fraudulent actions to effect defeat of their opponents. When the fight gets tough, they are likely to use sharp objects on their opponents. In the video film, Gadanga does not use sharp object, but he rubs pepper into the eyes of Mada, his opponent and he eventually defeats him. It is not only against the rules of traditional boxing to do so, but it is also considered a cheat.

*Karen Bana* presents night shots throughout the film to reflect on challenge. Viewers see Haule and Mada in the center of the frame. When the camera fades away, viewers see Gadanga and Mada in a close shot facing each other closely. In a night shot, viewers see Gadanga at the cemetery seeking for magical powers. The choice of night by the director is not only to put emphasis on shadows that often conceal some images, but also to create a sense of mysticism. Lighting in the night scene is

thoroughly planned. The setting is not entirely dark and the light does not make the setting very bright like in broad day light. The lighting crew ensures that the light has achieved its desired effect on viewers. It reminds them of the significance of grave in traditional boxing performance, which is to enhance defeat. Those who use grave as a symbol of defeat claim that when the hand of a boxer touches a dead body in the grave, and then hits an opponent, the opponent is bound to fall down. Not only do the night scenes try to uphold the tradition of local boxing, but also the praises and epithets of Gadanga and Mada and their subsequent fight. But the point of departure from the traditional is the aftermath of the fight. When Gadanga wins, Mada threatens to kill him. As a result of the threats, Mada is expelled from the community. This development shows a shift from the traditional concept of boxing as a do-or-die affair.

One important thing about *Karen Bana* is the late arrival of the two protagonists: Dahiru, played by Adam A. Zango, and Barira, played by Maryam Booth. When viewers are introduced to Dahiru, they see him going back to his village, Kurmi, after completing his studies in a modern school in the city. Few minutes of his introduction, a technique to engage viewers in the apex of the tension in the video film is set in motion by the director. While Dahiru waits for a vehicle, viewers are introduced to Barira, who is also from Kurmi. What may seem as coincidence or chance forms an essential part of the video film when Dahiru and Barira meet and board the same bus. Their introduction as persons who are meeting for the first time and the subsequent journey they embark on together are significant in the development of the plotlines in particular and the video film in general in terms of changes in cultural values. By virtue of his education and exposure, Dahiru will not have interest in Barira. She is not his class, his social status does not match with her manners, as the director presents her as a typical villager. Contrary to the very possible viewers' assumption, Dahiru and Barira develop however interest in each other. This development does not only suggest a shift from the traditional same class syndrome, but it also shows what Dahiru will go through. The immediate fading in of the video film's title, *Karen Bana*, on screen, the appearance of Horro, played by Tijjani Asase, and the live artist who sings his praises and epithets are manifestations of a challenge that Dahiru will encounter. Not only does this device remind viewers of the presence

of *makadan maza* (singers for professionals) during boxing, but it also informs them that they are viewing a performance in a new medium. Evidently, they see the link between the performance and the video film along with some changes. In the video film, there is a departure from the use of traditional musical instruments used during boxing performance to highlight the inclusion of gadgets to reflect hybridity. Viewers see the performance announcer using microphone connected to loudspeakers in order to amplify voice, so that people from far places can hear him. This development is not by chance, as no part of the world, no human activity is untouched by the new media. Societies worldwide are being renewed for better by changes in the global media and information circulation. In this regard, it is a privilege enjoined by necessity that most social systems are affected by the dynamics of global media, particularly systems in a society which is experiencing dual influence. Inevitably, such a society must make a shift consciously or unconsciously from tradition to modernity. The arrival of Dahiru who might be considered as an outsider changes the status quo. It represents a timely and inevitable change in the community. He does not only become a threat to Horro, the existing village champion, but he also influences changes in Horro's uncivilized and uncompromising attitudes. He used to be feared and dreaded hence everyone in the village is afraid of him and nobody can challenge him. This shows how physical strength, as exhibited by Horro, can no longer be a determining factor in the society. Therefore, the concept of the Hausa proverb, *mai karfi sarkin kauye* (in the village, a strong man is the king) is changed, as nowadays there are constituted authorities that deal with conflicts in civilized manners. From the foregoing changes, a rethinking about hostility between Horro and Dahiru, as they interact, is instilled. Interaction is essential in the maintenance and transmission of culture. It comes into being when each of at least two participants is aware of the presence of the other and each has reason to believe the other is similarly aware. In such a situation, different kinds of actions are involved including use of language, non-speech actions like facial expression and body movement. For example, the camera shows Horro coming conceitedly in slow motion. As soon as he meets Dahiru for an interaction, normal coverage resumes, and the camera captures him communicating with Dahiru (*Karen Bana* 00: 59:28 minutes). On one hand, this situation shows how Horro is enthusiastic

about a child's obedience to parents, as well as how parents show allegiance to culture in the traditional way. He heeds to the conviction of his father with passion and without questioning. On the other hand, Dahiru deviates from the tradition and injects change. It is possible due to his acquisition of secular education, as it is the prerequisite of any meaningful social change. In the words of Vetinde (2012:471), “education is not only at the heart of the transformations that African societies are experiencing now, it is the linchpin of the continent's development [...] It is hard to think about the changing African societies without envisioning an appropriate form of education”. Thus, the character of Dahiru supports the view of Walter J. Ong (1982:ix) that “modes and categories influenced from the past no longer seem to fit the reality experienced by a new generation”. Dahiru is critical of the application of some rules or systems and he sets out to change them radically. Dahiru’s opinion on child and father relationship diverges from that of Horro. His concern about some hidden issues in their family does not only represent a transition in the physical and mental development of a child, but it also manifests transition in the rapport between father and child. From the traditional point of view, children must not question their parents on any decision they take. In *Karen Bana*, Dahiru does not only persist in asking his parents, but he also challenges them to tell him what transpired between his father and Gadanga. By implication, time has changed, people also have to change and walk according to time, as a Hausa proverb says, *zamani riga* (literally, time is a gown and it is worn accordingly). It means that things are done according to time. Therefore, in this generation, people allow their wards to share their experiences. To this effect, the director shows Dahiru sharing his father’s agony when the video film cuts back to flashback shots, a manifestation of his transition from childhood to manhood.

Banga-banga is another character that the director uses to show an example of a typical allegiance to culture and tradition. But his ideas are entirely contrary to the opinions of his wife, who continuously opposes the archaic and conservative ideas of her husband. While he insists on tradition, she is concerned about their reputation as parents. To him, as a boxer, it is against the tradition of boxing to allow his daughter to get married without a contest being performed among her suitors. On the other hand, his wife opposes boxing because she does not want any shameful thing in their family,

should the contest become calamitous. She challenges her husband's authority as the head of the family even though he presses hard on his wish by stating that whether she likes it or not, the fight must take place because it is their old tradition (*Karen Bana* 01:28:58 minutes). Evidently, there are two divergent opinions here. While Banga-banga is influenced by tradition and custom, his wife indicates that she is shifting from tradition to modernity. It could be right to say that Banga-banga's consistent allegiance to tradition and the persistent disagreement with his wife is an instance of what Vetinde (2012:464) says about Africa in dealing with the process of transformation. Banga-banga seems to negotiate his stand and safeguard his unchanging and uncompromising ideology around the question, which Vetinde (2012:464) asked sarcastically - how much of a people's culture and value systems should be sacrificed on the alter of national progress? This scenario brings out the cultural disparity between Banga-banga and his wife. He is faced with the challenge of adjusting to changing times. With his traditional allegiance, he seems not to be apt in dealing and or compromising with the shifting cultural realities. His concern for a real or genuine Hausa, to borrow Vetinde (2012:484) phrase, "cultural purity" in this era of cultural globalization may not only be unrealistic but also unreliable. Indeed, he and his wife are two completely different individuals in character and principles. While he seems to be primeval in thoughts and acts, as he shows concern for traditional rules, his wife does not only insist on change, but she also carries on with her innovative ideas. By inference, there is need for a modern society in which the will of necessity transcends tradition, whereby the people will have to embody change and choose between traditional allegiance and transformation.

*Karen Bana* depicts acts linked to fetishism and shifts from it. The concept of the fetish relates to an object, which is believed to have supernatural powers. Specifically, it is a man-made object that possesses power over other objects. The use of charms, enchantment, juju and offensive witchcraft are associated with religious fetishism, which this study is concerned with. It is commonly used in traditional religious beliefs, as opposed to Karl Marx's commodity fetishism, although Marx picked up the word from its erstwhile meaning. In *Karen Bana*, characters who take the role of boxers are seen with armlets during boxing. Its major function is to enhance

victory. Similarly, in one of the scenes, Haule finds Horro at night seeking magical powers in addition to Gadanga's fetish behavior, which the director presents earlier. The director's persistence in repeating the act is to show that fetishism is practiced among boxers. According to Madauci, Isa and Daura (1968:73), as it was the case, every boxer had his *boka* (traditional healer) who prepares his charm. More often than not, they exceed the limit of religious principles, such as performing all sorts of rites under the tamarind tree, all in the search for excellence. On one hand, the director's persistence on acts of fetishism is to indicate its reality. On the other hand, his persistence goes hand in hand with a critical point of departure from fetishism. The video film evidently suggests that fetishism is shifting and nowadays many people do not only condemn it, but they also do not believe in it. For example, Mada says he has a strong belief in Allah with whom everything is possible and he does not fear any magic or enchantment. Secondly, his son Dahiru does not get involved in acts linked to fetishism when he engages Horro in boxing. Rather, he approaches the fight systematically. He does not only undergo rigorous training, but he also acquires some skills and techniques which are synonymous with modern boxing. In addition, the director does not only use the character of Haule as a symbol of metamorphosis, but he also portrays her as an example of a woman of her words and a passionate advocate of change. For example, when she meets Horro at the point of an act linked to fetishism, the situation makes her to change her allegiance to tradition. As a young woman, she too passes through the same tradition, but now as an adult, she has a different opinion about it. She has good reasons to sideline her allegiance to tradition. She considers Horro's fetishism as devilish and when he uses it, it is actually bound to kill Dahiru. She feels there is no point sticking to a tradition that will jeopardize the future and entire life of a young graduate, whose father suffered to educate him so that he will be of great help to the community. Like Haule, Barira and Dahiru's friend are advocates of change. Their position on boxing for a wife shows that as youths they have a common ideology that shifts from the conservative view of tradition. To them, even though Dahiru is man enough to wipe away the pains his father suffers and then restore his lost prestige, they feel it should be done in a civilized manner that will not be at the detriment of his life. Their decision is a departure from Mada's character as a stalwart

of an eye for an eye-revenge. In addition to Dahiru's friend and Barira's acts of change, Mada's wife finds his decision not only uncompromising, but also unforgivable. To her, there is no reason that supports the fight. Therefore, they should not destroy their son just to fulfill their wishes. The video film does not only depict Mada facing questions about the significance of tradition, but also reminds him of its obsolescence. His insistence on tradition is a case in point. He has to consider the relevance of discarded tradition. The character of Haule does not only inform him, but it also intimidates him. In other words, the older generation is destined to relinquish its traditional role, as the video film reveals. This development is inevitable and it is hastened by a technologically changing world where the conservatives may feel that they are continuously getting outdated. As James Monaco (2000:72) reckons on technology, he emphasizes that, "recording technology now offers us the opportunity of capturing a representation of sounds, images, and events and transmitting them directly to the observer within the necessary interposition of the artist's personality and talents. This can be realized in the ring during the grand finale when viewers hear on screen live boxing songs and see spectators and boxers. Horro and Dahiru are placed in the center of the camera and a live artist is praising them. The on screen song gives way for an off screen repeated mentioning of the video film's title *Karen Bana*, warning Horro that Dahiru, the *Karen Bana*, (the protagonist) will deal with Horro, the *Birin Zamani* (the antagonist). The video film's adaptation of the Hausa proverb, *Karen bana shi ne maganin birin zamani* (a monkey is no match to a dog) as its title is by all means exploiting and exposing the power of orality. In addition, it exposes two divergent opinions. There are conflicting views between those who uphold allegiance to custom and tradition, on one hand, and those who feel that tradition is archaic and must be discarded by switching allegiance, on the other hand. This development suggests that culture is dynamic. It has the power and the capacity for change or transformation of social structures that are highlighted and made manifest to the society through the performances under review. The issue of change or transformation can be seen in the final fight between Dahiru, a graduate, and Horro, a stark illiterate. While Dahiru represents modernity and change, Horro represents tradition and stagnation. Dahiru's victory is a symbol of modernity prevailing over tradition. At the

end of the video film, viewers see Horro hailing Dahiru. This gesture does not only indicate that Horro has overcome tradition, but now he is also an admirer of change in their society. Finally, Dahiru's migration to the city shows that unless we come closer to cosmopolitan life, we cannot interact and integrate.

The use of proverbs in the video film's storylines plays a great role in depicting the status of orality in the society. In about three minutes of fierce dialogue between two characters, Gadanga and Mada, five proverbs are employed such as *sai an gwada akan san na kwarai* (a quality of something is known only by testing it) (*Karen Bana* 01:55:47 minutes), *barewa ba ta yi gudu danta ya yi rarrafe ba* (the manner someone behaves is the same manner his or her children will behave) (*Karen Bana* 01:56:09 minutes), *dan da ya yi wa da'ira tirken wawa* (woe to the son who is used to the ring, but fails to defeat a beginner) (*Karen Bana* 01:56:28 minutes), *karen bana shi ne maganin birin zamani* (a monkey is no match to a dog) (*Karen Bana* 01:57:38 minutes), *fankan fankan ba shi ne kilishi ba* (strength is better than size in fight) (*Karen Bana* 01:57:51 minutes). In Hausa society, the use of proverbs is very common in everyday speech. Users of proverbs sometimes play on words and render the referent sarcastic as seen in *Karen Bana*. While they come in what people say and do, they also express the wisdom of the speaker and expose the tradition of the people at the same time showing communicative mechanism. However, in the video film, proverbs are embedded not only in speech, but also in action, as it is often said that action speaks louder than voice. The action helps to emphasize the strength of what the actor aims at saying in the proverb. *Karen Bana* therefore exemplifies the fusion between the genres of orality and cinema and serves a good example of this unification.

## 7. 2. Conclusion

The video films in the corpus cannot be regarded as imitations of Bollywood, as a section of the society often considers them. Rather, the films in the corpus preserve Hausa culture while at the same time they transform conventions of earlier oral genres through technical means and in view of a changing society. They may not be the video



films that the *Hisbah*, the pro-Sharia militia in Kano thought of silencing because of actresses and actors in body contact depicting promiscuous act. Rather, they are video films based on Hausa oral tradition. *Karen Bana's* success as the best video film in an award presentation in Kano is a testimony. In these films familiar narratives depicting cultural motifs abound. In the case of the use of a folktale, for instance, the story as oral narration is already packed in the memory of filmmakers and viewers alike, making it sound more genuine than what would be invented over-night. Evidently, as filmmakers will continue producing cultural video films, viewers will continue to cherish them and this will determine the future of Kanywood industry. This does not necessarily require all viewers grasping all the video films. If one can produce ten video films and only a few messages in just some few of the video films are found useful, something is achieved. Filmmakers should not expect that all the contents of their video films must be accepted. If viewers make use of the message in just one scene in a video film, the aim of the filmmaker is achieved. For instance, folktales and video films bring to limelight the issue of attitudes such as the opinions and feelings that people usually have towards certain things and how they relate to those things. For example, the result of tolerance and obedience as shown by Hama's daughter in *Ruwan Bagaja* relates to horse riding, drumming, music, escorts and perfume. All these are associated with royalty, which indicates an upper class in the society. Things like leprosy, flies, insects and riding on donkey as done by Larai's daughter are synonymous with poverty stricken condition hence they are looked at contemptuously and negatively in the society. Basically, filmmakers produce video films in order to educate, entertain viewers or to bring up something into the glare of publicity. In achieving this goal, therefore, Kanywood filmmakers use traditional performances as sources of their plotlines. Some viewers do not know some of the performances, but as they are now being transported into video films, they are beginning to experience them. For those who know them, the transported video films serve as a way of revisiting them. If Kanywood filmmakers will continue to use traditional performances of the distant past, they will not only contribute on revitalizing eroded performances, but they will also uncover the changes in cultural values.

## Chapter Eight: General Conclusion

This research investigated the metamorphosis of performance, oral heritage and medial transformation that has occurred in films. The focus is on Kanywood video films, which are broadly conceptualized as video films in Nigeria, with close reference to Kano, northern Nigeria, in the Hausa language. Prior to the introduction of the video films, performances in the arena formed the principal means of entertainment. But due to development in technology and globalization, they are transformed or shifted and today's Kanywood video films do not only consist of scenes of these performances, but are also based on performances such as folktale, *tashe*, *dambe*, *sharo* and *bori*. More specifically, the study identified some changes in the course of the emergence of the Kanywood film industry. These include the crossover from theatre to the cinema, the transformation of actors and actresses from stage to screen. It is posited that there has been a shift from the use of the video camera in television stations to the video industry.

Chapter one, which is the general introduction, examined the concept “Kanywood“, within the general framework of “labelling“, as a common phenomenon in Nigeria. As the study examines aspects of metamorphosis, the chapter also highlighted that Kanywood video films contain a certain degree of cultural transformation and shift, especially at this time of globalization, coupled with the fact that the video films transmute from the oral public space to the medial one.

Chapter two delved into available research literature on Kanywood and reviewed it. The findings have shown that the majority of discussions on Kanywood dwell on the issue of imitation. The chapter elucidated that while few authors relate Kanywood video films to an imitation of Nollywood, many authors have explicitly considered the video films as imitative of Bollywood, concluding that the song and dance scenes therein serve as not only catalysts for cultural imperialism, but also for undermining religious motifs. Rather than to subscribe to such an attitude towards Kanywood video films, the conclusion on the review has indicated that the present study considers Kanywood filmmakers as local partakers in the global film and entertainments industries, and the video films as conveyance of cultural transformation and hybridization.

Chapter three discussed performance as the theoretical framework adopted for the study. The study found out that there is a dynamic process that links performance behavior with social and ethical structure. Therefore, like any other human event, performance is situated, and its form, meaning and functions are rooted in culturally defined scenes or activities. What the findings have found more relevant and interesting are, first, that there is remarkable affinity between performance and the process of social and cultural change. Secondly, there is temporariness in performance that suggests performance as transformation and transportation. Third, besides performance, performers as well have particular qualities of productive change.

In chapter four I described the methodology of the research. As the central aim of the study was to analyze selected Kanywood video films based on performance, I explained that I went to the field in Nigeria and engaged with filmmakers, actors, actresses, viewers for data collection involving interviews, which I used in the data presentation and analysis. Many video films were watched and some were selected for analysis. In this regard, chapter four described the method to analyze video film, based on performance and film theory. The analysis as chapter four foregrounds, focused on how performance experiences shift and transformation, and how some elements like light, sound and camera movement influence the storylines of the selected video films.

In chapter five I investigated the forms of performance, which the Hausa have practiced as forms of entertainment before the inception of video films. An interrogation of these performances was undertaken and the findings have indicated that religion, entertainment and information are the major purposes of conducting the performances. The present situation of these performances is another sub topic, which the chapter investigated, and the results have shown that not only are the Hausa traditional performances shifting or changing medium, but they are also being modernized.

Chapter six investigated Hausa theatre. The findings have indicated that Hausa theatre does not only make an impact on Kanywood video films, but it is also the backdrop of the video films, as found out, the first Kanywood video film, *Turmin Danya* (1990) was a product of a drama group known as *Tumbin Giwa Drama Group*. It is also shown in the findings that not only does theatre shift to Kanywood, but that

the actors and actresses have also undergone the same transformation from stage to screen. Summarily, the chapter highlighted that theatre has in many ways help to the growth and progress of Kanywood video films and industry in general.

In chapter seven, I did not only highlight the departure from the traditional motif to the contemporary and the connection between them, and the reason why an element of Hausa/African traditional culture transforms, but I also analyzed the selected video films. The subsequent analysis of the video films in this category has shown elements of systematic departure that suggests shifts and changes to debunk the notion of cultural fixity. On one hand, the finding has disapproved of the perception of the video films as decadence because it has highlighted aspects of conventional culture. On the other hand, the analysis has intensified the argument that culture is flexible to support the idea of cultural dynamism. Therefore, from the contents of this dissertation and its analysis, it is obvious that one of the underlying questions of the thesis is whether or not culture is static. The challenge emanates from the reference to Kanywood video films as mere imitation of Bollywood by means of its adaptation into Hausa culture. Video film is therefore seen as a provider of major social and cultural changes. In addition, it is not only a means through which an exploration of the concept of the transcending globalization is possible, but it is also a way of comprehending how the society itself transforms under these changing circumstances. To stress this point, D. W. Mckiernan (2008:166) says that, “the video film offers the opportunity for viewers to reflect on the processes and products of globalization”. However, it does not mean globalization does necessarily suggest eradication of conventional practices. Rather, it enhances shifting it in practice, as the findings of the study have suggested.

As my analysis has shown, one way of conceiving cultural flexibility in Kanywood video film is through the analysis of the transition from conventional oral performances into the film that come along with the media diversity. The shifts or changes are conceptualized by the actions and dialogues within the general frame of roles undertaken by the actors and actresses. As the roles in video film are concerned with the perfection of the film's diegesis, characters are bound to exhibit departure from an established norm to a new one. Secondly, the changes manifest through non-

diegetic elements, which the filmmaker uses. This is ascertained by innovation from technology, which is commonly used in reference to camera work and sound effects, the two devices that make a video film richer in meaning and symbolism. The analysis helped to answer the questions regarding what elements are changed and the effects of the change. Not only are the characters' social and economic statuses lifted higher, the narratives, the culture, the view points as a whole are shifted, they are also enriched. Thus, significant cases of changes have been pointed out and presented in the analysis of this study. More often than not, acts that are characterized by conventional lifestyle are discouraged and disapproved and new lifestyles are being encouraged, a manifestation to suggest that culture is not static. As Isa Yusuf Chamo (2012:131) posits, the Hausa film scenarios, deeply settled in modern lifestyles, develop a narrative style that was not present in traditional discourse. Kannywood video film as a new medium is an indication of not only change, but also development in the society in terms of entertainment and dissemination of information. It is evident that the dispelling of some beliefs and disapproval of some traditional practices like *bori* and the use of charms reflect the ongoing transformations in Hausa culture.

The analysis has indicated that elements of metamorphosis are enshrined in the video films' actions and narratives to eschew tradition and to affirm the force of modernization. To give but some examples: It is evident in my findings that Mada's persistence in *Karen Bana* (2013) that his daughter must get married in the traditional way, contrary to his wife's opinion, is an example of film being an artistic space for exposing a conservative and male dominated society. In the same manner, my findings indicate that, Zango's relocation back to the city in *Fulani* (2012) despite his initial desire to go back to his roots, is an example of a changing society which embodies modern lifestyle which is not only envisaged and enticing, but it is also valued.

In shifting performances to video films, innovative film narration is realized through technical devices such as the creative matching of images and sounds. The question now is: After all the modes of transformation, especially the manipulation of the camera, what happens to the original performance? It seems to have faded, but my findings have shown that it has not only been absorbed by a new medium, but it has also become a collective, reorganized finished product, the concentrated essence of

cultural significance that has acted upon the original performance. As Turner (1987:31) explains, viewers can now speak of such new and transformed performances as having a creative life of their own. It has this quality-record of the director's manipulation of the camera. Being a new product, in terms of storage systems, video films outlast oral performance. And with regards to viewing, while performance in the arena can be repeated many times, each time being unique and different from the others, a performance in a video film is not only a transformed performance, but it is also a permanent record on VHS tape and on disc respectively.

Although almost all the techniques of filmmaking which Kanywood filmmakers use have been adopted from the western world, the filmmakers have been able to create video films on local performances with very original film language and strong local characteristics. These are the types of video films, which this study has discussed. The filmmaker's video film language is Hausa, understood by Hausa and marked by the oral tradition. The filmmakers have been initiated into oral tradition and to the narrative forms of the storyteller / performer. While the storyteller / performer uses words and body language, as the study has shown, the filmmaker uses words, body language via the actors and images to convey meaning. He has also at his disposal a much more varied medium to transmit his message: technical means of production, special audiovisual effects, the images of the actors, their movements and, obviously, the sound. He uses all these ingredients to speak to his audience and to give the narration the appearance of change. The filmmaker's raw material is not the spoken word, as in the communication between storyteller and audience, but rather images and language. The words of the storyteller are translated into images. This is all the more necessary as the film will be viewed by audiences with different linguistic backgrounds. Despite the changes, since the video films are rooted or developed from or strongly influenced by orality, quite naturally, they reflect the filmmaker's cultural identity. Based on this, as a rule, the oral tradition marks the structure as well as the content of the films. The films' narratives are not only structured in a linear pattern, but they usually illustrate a moral teaching.

The study has shown that Kanywood filmmakers have produced many video films in the two and half decades of inception despite the technical, political and

financial difficulties they encounter. Just the same way the video films have different genres, their themes also vary. But the ones which are analyzed in this study do not only reflect conventional performance, but they also represent realities that are gradually evolving. Specifically noticeable in this regard are the scenes that integrate and represent both conventional and hybrid cultural norms.

The represented society in Kanywood video films is characterized by change, which the filmmakers present adjacent to the existing situations. The study has shown the harmony between orature and technology, as created through the imported film medium. The new medium is integrated into the existing traditional and cultural environment where local narrative traditions have been adapted into the global film medium to show Hausa cum African cultural transformations. Therefore, the study highlighted that Kanywood filmmakers have embraced both Western, Indian and African influences, which are in line with contemporary medial culture. The challenge now is for the filmmakers to extend their creativity beyond the borders of Hausa speaking domains. As the primary use of language is to communicate, Kanywood filmmakers can use wider and globally accepted language to subtitle the dialogues using their linguistic competences. It is possible that the use of new and modern technologies along with subtitling might create the conditions for a larger audience. While some of the video films can be accessed on youtube, many of them (especially the ones I used for the analysis of this study) could not be found on youtube, and could not be viewed by a laptop because they are not in compatible formats and they could not be converted as well. Thus, technical quality remains a major problem that requires great attention.

Concerning northern Nigeria, which remains the central space for Kanywood, it should be kept in mind that it has always been a part of a global society, at least in the older sense of the term. In this regard, I would like to refer to D. W. Mckiernan's (2008:158), work on cinema and community. Mckiernan quotes Massey's idea of a global sense of place that, “despite all the shifts to our conception of place brought about by globalization, it is important to remember that places do have uniqueness”. It is clear that much more attention specifically technical and the film's diegesis need to be given to Kanywood as a contemporary variant of Nigeria film industry. If the

government can guarantee adequate enabling environment for the filmmakers, the actors and actresses, the industry will not only develop well or vigorously, but it will also be an avenue for more revenue for Nigeria, especially now that the price of crude oil tumbles in the international market.

Kanywood video films' substandard quality notwithstanding, the industry survives the obnoxious short-comings and problems. Despite the paradoxical nature of Kanywood video films, the censor's board has categorized and recommended Kanywood video films for general viewing. The occurring deficiencies or weaknesses notwithstanding, Kanywood remains a huge area for research not only in the fields of literature, film studies and culture, but also in anthropology, linguistics, sociology and religion. The video films can offer researchers the opportunity to investigate the different aspects of the industry such as production and marketing. There is enough in the video films for scholars or researchers who are interested in the contemporary Hausa/African society and how the society is represented in the films that are produced by indigenous filmmakers. Specifically, this study recommends that the aesthetics of language, such as the beauty, ugly, comic, as applicable to the films' diegesis is an area for further research.



## Filmography

- Borin Ibro*. Director: Auwal Y. Abdullahi. Albashir Productions, Kano. 2008.
- Dawayya*. Director: Bala Anas Babillata. Iyan-Tama Multimedia, Kano. 2001.
- Jakadiya*. Director: Aminu Saira. Kabugawa Production, Kano. 2011.
- Karen Bana*. Director: Falalu Dorayi. Prince Zango Productions Nigeria Ltd, Kaduna. 2013.
- Ruwan Bagaja*. Director: Iliyasu Abdulmumini. Nautica Productions, Kano. 1998.
- Sangaya*. Director: Aminu Muhammed Sabo. Sarauniya Films, Kano. 2000
- Tashe*. Director: Hamisu Yusuf. A. E. Production. Kano. 2010.
- Fulani*. Director: Mu'azzam Idi Yari. Amart Entertainment, Kano. 2012
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## **Appendix 1**

### **Interviews: List of Participants**

1. Name Galadima Mohammed  
Occupation NGO Staff / Film Producer  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview Dagauda Hotel, Kano  
Date of Interview September 5, 2011
2. Name Muktar Isa PRP  
Occupation Film Director  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview Dagauda Hotel, Kano  
Date of Interview September 5, 2011
3. Name Suleiman Ababakar  
Occupation Film Editor  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview Dagauda Hotel, Kano  
Date of Interview September 7, 2011
4. Name Auwalu Y. Mohammed  
Occupation Business  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview Dagauda Hotel, Kano  
Date of Interview September 7, 2011
5. Name Adamu Umar Mujahid.

Occupation Film Editor

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Dagauda Hotel, Kano

Date of Interview September 7, 2011

6. Name Musa Abdullahi Sufi

Occupation Film Actor

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Dagauda Hotel, Kano

Date of Interview September 7, 2011

7. Name A'ishatu A. Musa

Occupation Civil Servant / Film Producer

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview MOPPAN, Kano

Date of Interview September 8, 2011

8. Name Abubakar D. Yakasai

Occupation Film Editor

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English, Arabic

Place of Interview MOPPAN, Kano

Date of Interview September 8, 2011

9. Name Kawu Mohammed Kamfa

Occupation Business / Film Producer

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English, Hindi  
Place of Interview MOPPAN, Kano  
Date of Interview September 8, 2011

10. Name Faruk Sayyadi

Occupation Film Editor  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Arabic  
Place of Interview MOPPAN, Kano  
Date of Interview September 8, 2011

11. Name Hajara Abubakar Dum?aru

Occupation Business / Film Actress  
Residence Kano  
First Language Ibo  
Further Language Hausa, English  
Place of Interview Abubakar Rimi Television (ARTV), Kano  
Date of Interview September 9, 2011

12. Name Hajara Dalim

Occupation Tailor  
Residence Bauchi  
First Language Dadiya  
Further Language Hausa, English  
Place of Interview Yelwa, Bauchi  
Date of Interview September 11, 2011

13. Name Grace Magaji Malum

Occupation Student  
Residence Bauchi  
First Language Tera  
Further Language Hausa, English, Tangale  
Place of Interview Yelwa, Bauchi  
Date of Interview September 11, 2011

14. Name Sa'adatu Afe Usman  
Occupation Civil Servant  
Residence Bauchi  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Afizere  
Place of Interview Open Air Theatre, Bauchi  
Date of Interview September 14, 2011
15. Name Ibrahim Lala  
Occupation Civil Servant  
Residence Bauchi  
First Language Jar  
Further Language Hausa, English  
Place of Interview Open Air Theatre, Bauchi  
Date of Interview September 14, 2011
16. Name Danlami Adamu (Yanke-Yanke)  
Occupation Civil Servant / Film Producer  
Residence Bauchi  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, French  
Place of Interview Open Air Theatre, Bauchi  
Date of Interview September 14, 2011
17. Name Bala Sani Mohammed (Katafare)  
Occupation Civil Servant  
Residence Bauchi  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Yoruba  
Place of Interview Open Air Theatre, Bauchi  
Date of Interview September 14, 2011
18. Name Babayo Aliyu  
Occupation Politician  
Residence Bauchi



First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Kano Road, GRA Bauchi

Date of Interview September 15, 2011

19. Name Ibrahim Ishaq Ahmed

Occupation Singer

Residence Bauchi

First Language Hausa

Further Language English, Arabic

Place of Interview Kano Road, GRA Bauchi

Date of Interview September 15, 2011

20. Name Abubakar Sadiq

Occupation Barber

Residence Bauchi

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Kano Road, GRA Bauchi

Date of Interview September 15, 2011

21. Name Cicilia Ayuba

Occupation Business

Residence Bauchi

First Language Zar

Further Language Hausa, English

Place of Interview Yelwa, Bauchi

Date of Interview September 20, 2011

22. Name Falalu A. Dorayi

Occupation Film Director

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview MOPPAN, Kano

Date of Interview September 22, 2011

23. Name Baballe Hayatu

Occupation Business / Film Actor

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Giginyu, Kano

Date of Interview September 22, 2011

24. Name Tijjani Abdullahi Assase

Occupation Film Actor

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Marhaba Street Kano

Date of Interview September 22, 2011

25. Name Sadiq Mafia

Occupation Film Director

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language Ibo, English, Hausa

Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano

Date of Interview September 23, 2011

26. Name Mustapha Musty

Occupation Film Actor

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano

Date of Interview September 23, 2011

27. Name Danladi S. Ya'u

Occupation Film Actor

Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Arabic  
Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano  
Date of Interview September 23, 2011

28. Name Jamila Ahmed

Occupation Singer  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano  
Date of Interview September 23, 2011

29. Name Adamu Nagudu

Occupation Musician / Film Producer  
Residence Jos  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano  
Date of Interview September 24, 2011

30. Name Salisu U. Almustapha

Occupation Business / Film Producer  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Arabic  
Place of Interview S & A Studios  
Date of Interview September 24, 2011

31. Name Shu'aibu Idris Lilisco

Occupation Civil Servant  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English

Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano

Date of Interview September 24, 2011

32. Name Abdullahi Sani (Baba Karami)

Occupation Film Actor

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano

Date of Interview September 24, 2011

33. Name Zuwaira Musa

Occupation Film Actress

Residence Kano

First Language Nupe

Further Language Hausa, English

Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano

Date of Interview September 24, 2011

34. Name Maryam Yunusa

Occupation Student

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further Language English, French, Arabic

Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano

Date of Interview September 24, 2011

35. Name Fatima Abdullahi

Occupation Film Actress

Residence Kaduna

First Language Fulfulde

Further Language Hausa, English

Place of Interview S & A Studios, Kano

Date of Interview September 24, 2011

36. Name Al-Amin Ciroma

Occupation Journalism / Film Director  
Residence Kaduna  
First Language Fulfulde  
Further Language Hausa, English, Arabic  
Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna  
Date of Interview September 26, 2011

37. Name Muhammad Sani Adamawa

Occupation Business / Film Director  
Residence Kaduna  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language Fulfulde, Arabic, English  
Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna  
Date of Interview September 26, 2011

38. Name Fatima Ahmed Ibrahim Lamaj

Occupation Film Producer  
Residence Kaduna  
First Language Igbira  
Further Language English, Hausa, Nupe, Yoruba  
Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna  
Date of Interview September 26, 2011

39. Name Ismail Koli

Occupation Film Actor  
Residence Kaduna  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Arabic  
Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna  
Date of Interview September 26, 2011

40. Name Muhammad Iskeel Abdullahi

Occupation Journalism / Film Producer  
Residence Kaduna  
First Language Hausa

Further Language English, Arabic

Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna

Date of Interview September 26, 2011

41. Name Sabi'u M. Gidaje

Occupation Student / Actor

Residence Kaduna

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna

Date of Interview September 27, 2011

42. Name Musa A. Kalla

Occupation Film Actor

Residence Kaduna

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna

Date of Interview September 27, 2011

43. Name Fati Abubakar

Occupation Business / Film Actress

Residence Kaduna

First Language Hausa

Further Language English

Place of Interview Fim Magazine Office, Kaduna

Date of Interview September 27, 2011

44. Name Nura Sharif

Occupation Film Director

Residence Kano

First Language Hausa

Further language English

Place of Interview Moppan Office, Kano

Date of Interview September 5, 2011

45. Name Ahmad Salisu Alkanawy  
Occupation Civil Servant  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Arabic, Fulfulde  
Place of Interview MOPPAN Office, Kano  
Date of Interview September 19, 2013
46. Name Iliyasu Abdulmumini  
Occupation Film Director  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview MOPPAN Office, Kano  
Date of Interview September 19, 2013
47. Name Misbahu M. Ahmed  
Occupation Musician  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English, Arabic  
Place of Interview Apple Media Global 99, Kano  
Date of Interview September 19, 2013
48. Name Abdul Amart  
Occupation Film Producer  
Residence Kano  
First Language Hausa  
Further Language English  
Place of Interview MOPPAN Office, Kano  
Date of Interview September 21, 2013

### **Discussions**

Ahmad Salisu Alkanawy. Kano, MOPPAN Office. September 18, 2013.

Salisu Mohammed Officer. Kano, S & A Studios. September 22, 2016.

Mujahid Usman. Kano, S & A Studios. September 22, 2016.

Abba Miko Yakasai. Kano, S & A Studios. September 22, 2016.

Musa Ibrahim. Kano, No 1 Gwaram Street Dorayi. September 22, 2016



## **Appendix II**

### **Schedule of Fieldwork**

Time of Fieldwork: 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016

Country of Fieldwork: Nigeria

Cities visited: Kano, Kaduna, Bauchi, Jos

Institutions Visited: Bayero University Kano

Kano State Censorship Board, Kano

Motion Pictures Practitioners Association of Nigeria, Kano

Branch

Interviewees:

Producers

Directors

Actors

Actresses

Viewers

Personal Data of Interviewees:

Name

Sex

Current Place of Residence

First Language

Further Languages

Occupation

Anonymous YES NO

Contact: Telephone, E-mail

Date of interview

Place of Interview

Time of Interview

General Questions:

Questions on Production

1. How did you get involved in film production?
2. What motivates you into film production?

3. Are your films scripted?
4. Who writes the stories?
5. What are the sources of the stories?
6. Must you get acquainted with the stories?
7. How do you get acquainted with the stories?
8. What is the role of drama groups as source of production of Kanywood video films?
9. What is the role of governmental programs as source of storylines in Kanywood video films?
10. What is the role of religion as source of Kanywood video films?
11. Is there a turning point in the production of Kanywood video films?
12. What inspires you to produce some particular films: Which films for example?
13. How do viewers react to your films? Can you give examples?
14. Place yourself as a viewer and not a producer. What is your reaction to your films?
15. What can the Hausa learn from Kanywood video films?
16. What are the impacts of Kanywood video films on Hausa culture?
17. What are your wishes for Kanywood industry?

#### Questions on Film's Contents

1. Are Kanywood video films imitations of Bollywood? In what ways are Bollywood and Kanywood similar?
2. In what ways do Bollywood and Kanywood differ?
3. What is the role of song in your films?
4. What is the source of song in your films?
5. Do songs in your films correspond to the storylines?
6. What role does dance play in your films?
7. In your opinion, are songs and dances alien to Hausa culture?
8. Are Kanywood video films accepted?
9. Who are the majority that accepts Kanywood video films?
10. What are the bases for the acceptance?

11. Are Kanywood video films rejected?
12. Who are the majority that rejects Kanywood video films?
13. What are the bases for the rejection?
14. How are titles of your films derived?
15. What are the languages used in Kanywood video films?
16. From the period the Kanywood video films started to date, in your opinion, what are the major successes achieved?
17. From the time the Kanywood video films started to date, in your opinion, what are the major setbacks encountered?
18. How are the above setbacks being tackled?

#### Questions on Aim and Motivation

1. What is the aim of your films
2. Are you influenced by Bollywood films? How?
3. Are you influenced by Nollywood films? How?
4. Are you influenced by Igbo films? How?
5. Are influenced by Yoruba films? How?
6. What do viewers expect from you?

#### Questions on Intended Viewers

1. Who are your target viewers?
2. Among your target viewers, which gender watches your films the more?
3. Do you consider non Hausa speakers in your films?
4. How do you incorporate non Hausa speakers in getting the messages in your films?
5. What are some of the messages in your films?
6. How do you succeed in getting the messages across to the viewers?
7. Where are your films watched? Do you receive any comment? Are the comments positive or negative?

#### Questions on Setting

1. Where do you shoot your films in Nigeria?
2. Do you shoot films in other African countries?
3. Why do you choose specific settings?

### Questions on Collaboration and Patronage

1. Do you collaborate with other Nigerian films company?
2. Do you collaborate with other film company abroad?
3. Do you receive financial support from the government?
4. Do you receive financial support from companies?

### Questions to Directors

1. When did you start playing the role of director in Kanywood industry?
2. What pushes you into Kanywood industry?
3. Do you have a permanent job apart from working as a film director?
4. Did you have a prior knowledge of cinematography before engaging as director in Kanywood industry?
5. After engaging in directing films, how often do you go for training?
6. Do actors and actresses abide by your instructions?
7. What are your difficulties in directing films?
8. How do you tackle the difficulties?
9. Do you encounter problems with your immediate or local community?
10. How do you tackle the problems?
11. Have you at a time give directives to actors and actresses on familiar performance?
12. Are there occasions you want actors and actresses to act in a certain manner and they refused. Why did they refuse?
13. How do you see the plots in Kanywood video films?

### Questions to Actors and Actresses

1. When did you start acting?
2. Which is the film you first acted in?
3. For the first time, how did you feel behind the camera?
4. What role did you play for the first time?
5. What pushes you into acting?
6. What was the reaction of your parents, wife, husband, children and the general public?
7. How do you react to the reactions?

8. In which film do you think you acted best? Why?
9. Which actor is your role model? Why?
10. Which actress is your role model? Why?
11. Are there some problems you encountered in the course of acting?
12. How did you overcome the problems?
13. Which role do you act most?
14. Do you choose the role to act?
15. In your opinion, do you think your actions in the films contravene Hausa culture?

#### Questions to Viewers

1. Have you ever watched Kanywood video films?
2. Can you remember the first Kanywood video film you watched?
3. When did you start watching Kanywood video films?
4. What was your first impression?
5. What is your impression now?
6. Do you see difference between films before 2000 and after?
7. What do you expect from Kanywood video films?
8. Do you like watching Kanywood video films?
9. How often do you watch Kanywood video films?
10. Before the start of Kanywood video films, which films did you normally watch? Where?
11. Where do you watch Kanywood video films?
12. What do you like in Kanywood video films?
13. What is the thing which you do not like in Kanywood video films?

#### Questions to Editors

1. When did you start editing films?
2. Do you edit films based on your knowledge or the directives of film producer?
3. Is there a good understanding between you and the producers?
4. Do you receive comments from viewers? Are the comments positive or negative?

5. As an editor, do you watch films in which you observe some short comings based on editing?

#### Specific Questions

- 1 What is your name?
- 2 When did you produce the video film.....?
- 3 What is the message (theme) of your video film.....?
- 4 Do you realize that your video film is based on performance?
- 5 Why did you base your video film on performance?
- 6.What elements did you change?
- 7.What elements did you add?
- 8.Why did you add the elements?
- 9.Why did you change the elements?
- 10.What are the effects of the change?
- 11.What are the effects of the additions?
12. What is the place of Hausa traditional performances in Hausa society now?
13. In your opinion what will become of Hausa traditional performances if they continue to transport into video films?

## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE METAMORPHOSIS OF PERFORMANCE: ORAL HERITAGE AND MEDIAL TRANSFORMATION IN KANYWOOD VIDEO FILMS**

The study identifies and critically analyses Kanywood video films with particular emphasis on sources in oral literature and performance practices. By way of definition, Kanywood stands for both the film industry and video films produced in northern Nigeria. The study sticks to “Kanywood” as the label coined for the industry. However, “Kannywood” with the consonant cluster, as in Hollywood, Bollywood and Nollywood is a variant label, which some scholars have adopted. The study foregrounds that Kanywood filmmakers' appropriation of Bollywood have been excessively explored. But investigations in the area of re-enactment of performance in Kanywood video films are conceivably insufficiently undertaken. Therefore, the distinct contribution of this study reflects on transformation of Hausa culture due to globalization, thus elaborating the existing works on Kanywood. Through a performance framework and a thorough analysis of selected corpus, the study shows how video film is seen as a provider of major social and cultural changes. It is not only a means through which an exploration of the concept of the transcending globalization is possible, but it is also a way of comprehending how the society transforms under some changing circumstances. While the general underlying question is whether or not culture is static, the study thereby negotiates specific questions such as how are performances re-enacted and re-framed during filmmaking process, and how far are traditionally encoded performance events altered, changed, subverted or enriched in video film? The study recommends the aesthetics of language as an area of further research, foregrounds that imitation, adaptation and appropriation of circulating artistic forms is a global phenomenon grounded in intertextuality, expounds that culture is not fixed but dynamic, and concludes that it is more appropriate to look at the video films and the filmmakers through the paradigm of cultural hybridity and modernization which enhance cultural shift, transformation and change in this era of globalization. **Keywords:** Kanywood, performance, oral heritage, transformation

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

### DIE METAMORPHOSE VON PERFORMANCE. ORALES ERBE UND MEDIALE TRANSFORMATION IN KANYWOOD-VIDEOFILMEN

Die Studie definiert und analysiert Kanywood-Videofilme kritisch, wobei ein besonderer Schwerpunkt auf Quellen der mündlichen Literatur und Performancepraxis liegt. Per Definition steht Kanywood sowohl für Filmindustrie als auch für in Nordnigeria produzierten Videofilme. Die Studie hält an "Kanywood" als dem für die Branche geprägten Label fest. Der Literaturüberblick zeigt, dass die Aneignung von Bollywood-Filmmustern durch Kanywood-Filmmacher übermäßig untersucht wurde. Bisherige Untersuchungen im Bereich des *re-enactment* oraler Hausa-Performance in Kanywood-Videofilmen sind hingegen unzureichend. Die vorliegende Studie füllt mit ihrer Untersuchung der Transformation der Hausa-Kultur im Medium Film aufgrund der Globalisierung und im Kontext traditioneller Performance-Künste diese Lücke, und fügt so den bestehenden Arbeiten über Kanywood eine innovative Forschungsperspektive hinzu.

Im theoretischen Rahmen von *Performance Studies* und mit der gründlichen Analyse eines ausgewählten Korpus zeigt die Studie, wie der Videofilm als Medium wichtiger sozialer und kultureller Veränderungen gesehen wird. Er ist nicht nur ein Gegenstand anhand dessen die Erforschung des Konzepts einer transzendierenden Globalisierung möglich ist, sondern auch ein Weg, um zu verstehen, wie die Gesellschaft sich unter bestimmten sich wandelnden Umständen verändert. Während die allgemein zugrunde liegende Frage lautet, ob Kultur statisch ist oder nicht, verhandelt die Studie dabei die spezifischen Fragen, inwiefern Performances während des Filmemachens neu inszeniert und neu gerahmt werden, und inwieweit traditionell kodierte Performance-Ereignisse im Videofilm verändert, subvertiert und/oder bereichert werden.

Die Studie empfiehlt die Ästhetik von Filmsprache als ein Gebiet weiterführender Forschung, stellt heraus, dass Imitation, Adaptation und Aneignung zirkulierender künstlerischer Formen ein globale Phänomene sind, die auf Intertextualität beruhen, erklärt, dass Kultur nicht statisch, sondern dynamisch ist, und kommt zu dem Schluss, dass es angemessener ist, Videofilme und Filmemacher durch das Paradigma der kulturellen Hybridität und Modernisierung zu betrachten, da sie die kulturelle Verschiebung, Transformation und Veränderung im Zeitalter der Globalisierung fördern.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Kanywood, Performance, mündliches Erbe, Transformation